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See the Dictionary of
National Biography for
a memoir of J. G. Cooper,
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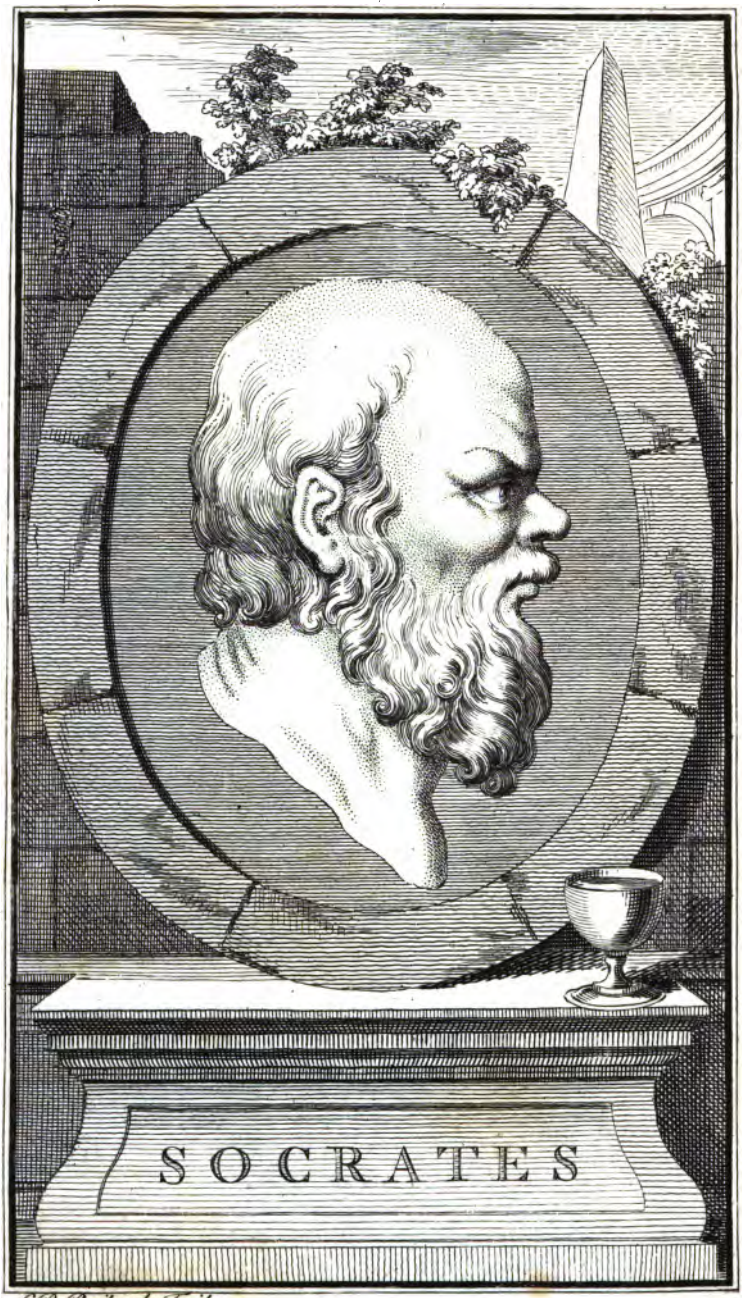


L. P. Boitard Fecit.

THE LIFE OF SOCRATES,

COLLECTED FROM THE

Memorabilia of XENOPHON AND THE Dialogues of PLATO,

And Illustrated farther by

ARISTOTLE, DIODORUS SICULUS, CICERO, PROCLUS, APULEIUS, MAXIMUS TYRIUS, BOETHIUS, DIOGENES LAERTIUS, AULUS GELLIUS, and others.

IN WHICH

The Doctrine of that Philosopher and the ACADEMIC Sect are vindicated from the Misrepresentations of ARISTOPHANES, ARISTOXENUS, LUCIAN, PLUTARCH, ATHENÆUS, SUIDAS and LACTANTIUS; the Origin, Progress and Design of Pagan Theology, Mythology, and Mysteries, explain'd; Natural Religion defended from Atheism on one hand, and Superstition on the other, and the destructive Tendency of both to Society demonstrated; Moral and Natural Beauty analogously compar'd; and the present Happiness of Mankind shewn to consist in, and the future to be acquir'd by, Virtue only derived from the true Knowledge of God. Herein the different Sentiments of LA MOTHE LE VAYER, CUDWORTH, STANLEY, DACIER, CHARPENTIER, VOLTAIRE, ROLLIN, WARBURTON, and others on these Subjects, are occasionally consider'd.

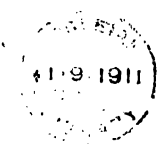
Προτρεψασθαι επ' αρετην καὶ καλοκαγαθιαν. Xen. Mem. lib. 4.

By JOHN GILBERT COOPER, Jun. Esq;

The SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:

Printed for R. DODSLEY at *Tully*'s Head in *Pall-mall*. 1750.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THE DESIGN.

THE Author of the following Sheets having with no ſmall Concern obſerved in ſeveral modern Controverſies, the injurious Treatment which the ancient Philoſophers have received, both from the unfair Miſrepreſentations of deſigning Men, and the more ſober though not leſs hurtful Miſtakes of the Ignorant; wherein human Reaſon has been depreciated ſcandalouſly, human Nature vilified, and the all-perfect Attributes of the great CREATOR *of the Univerſe thereby called in queſtion; he thought a more acceptable Service could not be done to true Religion, on which intirely depends the Welfare of our Species, than to vindicate the Impartiality of the* DEITY *(from the Aſperſions of thoſe who*

have blaſphemouſly confined his Benevolence) by a Demonſtration of his univerſal *Goodneſs exerted in Revolutions made tho' not* immediately, *yet* mediately *from himſelf to the Pagan World, of his Power, Will, and Nature, as far as Mankind then could or ought to comprehend.—This he propoſes fully to illuſtrate in this Review of the Life and Doctrines of that* Athenian *Sage, who conſtantly and invariably taught and believed the Immortality of the Soul, and a future Retribution of Rewards and Puniſhments: and even in an Age of the groſſeſt Idolatry, without the Aſſiſtance of ſupernatural Agents, collected by human Reaſon alone from the Nature of Things, the following important Truths concerning* GOD, *to eſtabliſh which he fell a glorious and undaunted Martyr, viz.* That he was ONE, eternal, uncreated, immutable, immaterial, incomprehenſible Being; that he was omnipotent, omniſcient, infinitely good and wiſe; that he created and continued to govern by his unerring Wiſdom all Things in univerſal Harmony; that he regarded

garded Mankind with a particular Affection, and indued them with Reason, that Ray of divine Light, to guide their Steps in this probationary State to temporal, and afterwards eternal Happiness, thro' the Paths of Virtue; that HE was exempt from all human Passions; and tho' the Wicked were afflicted both here and hereafter, that their Punishments did not proceed from his Anger, but from those invariable Laws ordained at the Creation of the World, through which they incapacitated themselves by their Crimes to be united in the beatific Visions of Heaven, to the ever blessed Society of great and good Men.

These were, as shall be proved in the Course of this Performance, the Tenets of the first Academics, *as taught by* Socrates *to* Plato *and his other Disciples; a Sect, as far as our Nature is capable of being so, infallible in their Speculations, and uncorrupted in their Practice; who lived virtuous, and consequently happy upon Earth, and will enjoy, as* Christian *Charity teaches*

us to hope, the everlaſting Bleſſings above, which reward the Labours of thoſe who have been obedient to the Will of Heaven.

The moſt authentic Accounts of Socrates *are collected from the Memoirs of* Xenophon *and the Dialogues of* Plato, *who were his Contemporaries and Diſciples; the Authority of theſe two only are inſiſted upon; the collateral Lights of After-times being made uſe of chiefly to ſhew, what Opinion the different Ages in which the Authors liv'd entertained of his Life and Doctrines.*

The Stile which the Author uſes, is ſuch in every Place as the Subject ſeems to require, conciſe tho' circumſtantial in the hiſtorical Parts, diffus'd and declamatory in the Recapitulation, and cloſe and unaffected in the occaſional Reflections.

To avoid any Interruptions in the Text, all controverted Points are diſcuſſed, and abſtruſe Paſſages or ſeeming Contradictions explained below in the Notes, the Language of which, the Reader will obſerve, is frequently

quently very different from the reſt of the Work, and is varied occaſionally to conform to the different Merits of ſeveral Writers which are therein properly conſidered. Some Expreſſions perhaps at firſt ſight may appear too harſh, and others too luſory; but all Weapons are not to be uſed alike againſt all Adverſaries: for as the ancient warlike * Scythians *found in the ſervile War, that Whips more intimidated the Army of rebellious Slaves, that marched againſt them, than the Sword which had ſo often corrected the Pride of Nations; ſo Contumely and Ridicule will avail againſt thoſe who are loſt to good Manners, Candor, and good Senſe, when the nobler Methods of Humanity, Reaſon, and Learning, would prove ineffectual. The Sentiments of others, who write like Men, are examined with the ſame Spirit, and where the Author is obliged to oppoſe their Opinions, he does it with a proper Reſpect due to their Characters,*

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*Vide Herodot. lib. 4. & Juſtin. lib. 2. cap. 5.

Characters, always diſtinguiſhing between the deſigning Deceits of the Heart, and the involuntary Errors of a miſled Underſtanding.

As this is a Biographical Account, many Parts of Hiſtory are abridg'd or protracted, as they more or leſs related to the Subject; for it would be equally abſurd to paſs over ſuch Facts, in the Life of a Worthy, wherein he is chiefly concerned, with a general View, as it would be to dwell upon others wherein he was not at all intereſted, with the more circumſtantial Accuracy of an Hiſtorian.

So much the Author thought neceſſary to premiſe in this Introduction, tho' otherwiſe utterly averſe to that modern Artifice of a prefatory Diſcourſe, wherein the Writers endeavor, by a feign'd and unmanly Submiſſion, to ſuborn as it were their Readers into an irrational Prepoſſeſſion in favor of their Works, but too frequently loſe the End in the Means, by betraying their own Cauſe to the Public, and ſpeaking thoſe very Truths which they are altogether unwilling ſhould be

believ'd.

believ'd. He therefore makes no idle Apologies on account of his Youth, for want of Leiſure, Induſtry, or the like, which if true ought to be ſufficient Reaſons for not publiſhing at all. The following Sheets were written with no ſmall Application for his own Inſtruction and Amuſement, and after having been carefully revis'd, are now communicated with the honeſt Deſign of making others partake in the ſame Satisfaction this Inquiry has already afforded him. If this deſireable End can't be obtain'd, he thinks it is paying a greater Reſpect to Mankind to confeſs, that the Failure proceeds from Deficiency of Abilities, and not from the want of laudable Endeavors. Reaſons pretty much of the ſame Nature induced him to omit thoſe cuſtomary Compliments to great Men, too frequently at the Expence of Truth, in the ſervile Strain of dedicatory Language: for a Performance that deſerves Protection never wants any; and one that wants it, ſeldom if ever deſerves it. Whatever Failings the more Learned may obſerve, the Author has Reaſon to expect, ſince all he

he advances is intended for the Promotion of good Manners, Morality and true Religion, that they would with the Good-nature becoming ſuch, candidly impute 'em to Error, inſiſting ſtrongly on the Merit of his Deſign, however little he may have in the Execution of it.

THE

L. P. Boitard Inv.t et Sculp.t

THE

LIFE

OF

SOCRATES.

BOOK I.

SOCRATES was born [1] at ATHENS, in a Bourg of the City call'd *Alopece*, belonging to the *Antiochian* Tribe, on the ſixth Day of the Month [2] *Thargelion*, in the fourth Year of the ſeventy-ſeventh Olympiad,

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[1] Vide Plut. Symp. lib. 8. & Diog. Laert in vit. Socr.

[2] *Amyot* falſely tranſlates it the ſixth of *February*; but *Monſ. Charpentier* obſerves rightly, that the ſixth Day of the Month *Thargelion* that Year anſwered to our ſixteenth of *May*, to whoſe chronological Table and Diſſertation for a more particular Account of this Calculation, I refer the Reader.

Olympiad, four hundred and ſixty-eight Years before the Coming of CHRIST. His [3] Father was a Statuary, named *Sophroniſcus*, his Mother a Midwife call'd *Phænareta*. In his Father's Art, which was then one of the moſt honorable in *Greece*, *Socrates* was firſt educated, and became ſo great a Proficient in his Youth, that, as ſeveral [4] Authors affirm, the celebrated *Graces*, carv'd on the Walls of the Citadel at *Athens* behind the Statue of *Minerva*, were his Performances. An early Indication of the Propenſity of his Mind to Beauty! From this, compar'd with his Life and Doctrines, we may perceive what invariable [5] Analogy there is between a Taſte for moral and for natural Comelineſs; for the ſame Faculties of the Soul which lead

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[3] Su'd. in vit. Socr. & Diog. Laert.

[4] Ibid. & Pauſan. lib. 9. It is very obſervable that theſe Graces here mention'd were, contrary to the general Cuſtom, cloth'd ενδεδυμμας χαριτας, whereas other Artiſts repreſented the *Graces* naked, as we learn both from *Greek* and *Latin* Poets. So *Horace*, lib. 1 od. 30.

——Solutis
Gratia zonis——

And again, lib. 4. od. 7.

Gratia cum Nymphis geminis Sororibus audet
Ducere nuda Choros——

Theſe *Graces* therefore carv'd by *Socrates*, may in contradiſtinction juſtly be called Gratiæ *decentes*. lib. 1. od. 4.

[5] See the third Book of *Xenophon*'s *Memorabilia*, where this Doctrine is illuſtrated by mutual Compariſons; and the *Characteriſticks*; and *Hutcheſon*'s *Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of Good and Beauty*, paſſim.

lead Mankind to admire Proportion and Order in external Forms of Matter, have a correſpondent Reliſh for a like Regularity in Characters and Manners; thus being often habituated to contemplate on the Charms of Nature and Art, exhibited to our outward Senſes, we transfer, as it were, that Idea of Excellence into our Breaſts, and make the Workings of the Mind obſerve the ſame Rules which were appointed by the firſt Cause to conſtitute Beauty and Harmony in every Part of his Creation.

There is nothing worthy of Notice mentioned by any Author concerning the Infancy of our Philoſopher, except by *Plutarch* [6], who ſays that *Sophroniſcus* was commanded by an Oracle not to contradict his Son, even whilſt a Child, in any thing whatſoever, but to let him follow the Bent of his own Diſpoſition, for that he had an inward Guide (alluding to his Genius or Dæmon, of which I ſhall ſpeak at large [7] in a proper Place) which would conduct him through Life better than a thouſand Preceptors; but as neither *Xenophon* nor *Plato* make any mention of ſo remarkable a Fact, this Story is to be regarded no more than as a vulgar Tradition forg'd afterwards,

[6] De D. Socr.

[7] Vide infra Book III. and Notes 11, 15, 16, & 17. ibid.

wards, and credulouſly ſwallow'd by *Plutarch*, who always delighted in Prophecies, Miracles, and Prognoſtications. Since this Part of his Life is paſſed over in ſuch Silence, we may reaſonably imagine that he continued in the Employment of a Statuary, till [8] *Crito*, a noble *Athenian*, obſerving the prodigious Extent of his natural Abilities, and judging that ſuch extraordinary Talents might be more uſefully employ'd for the Good of Mankind, took him from the Study of that Art, the chief Excellence of which is to inſpire as it were inſenſible Matter with fictitious animal Life; and enabled him to apply his Attention to the divine Contemplation of moral Symmetry, which forms the Soul itſelf into the neareſt Likeneſs our Nature is capable of attaining of the *firſt* PERFECT and *firſt* FAIR. His firſt Maſters in Philoſophy are ſaid to be [9] *Anaxagoras*, and *Archelaus* call'd the *Naturaliſt*; but 'tis apparent that neither of them merit that Appellation; for it would be abſurd to imagine that he would have ſpoke of the former with that Contempt which he frequently did [10], if he had been his Maſter, nor can we

[8] Diog. Laert. in vit. Socr. This *Crito* became afterwards his favorite Diſciple. Vide Plat. Crit. & Phæd. Dial.

[9] Vide Suid. & Diog. Laert.

[10] Plat. Apol.

we with more Reaſon think, that he was the Diſciple of the latter, who totally neglected the Study of Moral Philoſophy. If he muſt have a Maſter, *Prodicus*, I am inclinable to think, has by his own Confeſſion [11] the greateſt Pretenſions to that Honor; and what ſtill ſtrengthens the Probability is, that he alone of all the Philoſophers of that Age, was joined with *Socrates* to his immortal Glory, and attempted to be ridicul'd, on account of the ſame theological Opinions, in the Comedy of *Ariſtophanes* called [12] *the Clouds*.

[11] Men. Plat. and in the Dialogue entitled *Protagoras*, *Socrates*, recounting to his Friend the Particulars of a Diſpute of that *Sophiſt*, ſpeaks of *Prodicus* in theſe Terms, σοφος γὰρ μοι δοκει ανηρ ειναι καὶ θειος. And again in expreſs Terms acknowledges himſelf μαθητης ειναι Πρωδικου. In another Place calling upon *Prodicus* to aſſiſt him in the Explanation of a Paſſage in the Poet *Simonides*, he pays him this Compliment, δοκω αν μοι εγω παρακαλειν ὡς, ωσπερ εφη Ομηρος, Σκαμανδρον πολιορκυμενον υπο του Αχιλλεως, τον Σιμοεντα παρακαλειν, ειπουσα,

Φιλε κασιγνητε, θενος ανερος αμφοτερωι περ
Σχωμεν.

[12] The Clouds, the pretended Deities of theſe Philoſophers, thus accoſt *Strepſiades* an old Farmer and *Socrates*:

Χαιρ' ω Πρεσβυτα παλαιγενες, θεραττα λογων φιλομισον·
Συ τε λεπτολογων ληρων ιερευ, φραζε προς ημας ο τι χρηζεις.
Ου γὰρ αν αλλω γ' υπακουσωμεν των νυν μετεωροσοφιστων,
Πλην η ΠΡΟΔΙΚΩ. Τω μεν, σοφιας, τε γνωμης ενεκα. Ariſtoph. Nub. Act. 1. Sc. 4.

For a more particular Account of this Comedy, of the Deſign of it, Succeſs, &c. vide infra, Book II. and Notes 13, 15 and 16 ibid.

When *Crito* had ſupply'd him with all the Neceſſaries of Life, he apply'd himſelf, 'tis true, at firſt with the greateſt Aſſiduity [13] to Natural Philoſophy, which Study at that Time employed all the Youth of *Athens*; during which he perhaps might have occaſionally attended the Lectures of *Archelaus*, more for the ſake of detecting falſe [14] Knowledge than for acquiring true; for this Reaſon he can by no means be properly called either [15] *his* Diſciple, or that of *Anaxagoras*, whoſe Abſurdities afterwards he ſo often expos'd, and whoſe Doctrines differ'd ſo eſſentially from his own. In theſe phyſical Speculations he made a moſt uncommon Progreſs; nevertheleſs having met with Numbers of inexplicable Difficulties which attend that Study, and being convinced by Experience of how little Utility ſuch Reſearches, even when ſucceſsful, were of to the Promotion of real Happineſs, he proſecuted this Science no

[13] He gives this Account of himſelf in *Plato*'s *Phædo*, ἐγω δ Νεος ων θαυμασως ως επεθυμησα ταυτης της Σοφιας ην δε καλουσιν περι φυσεως ιστοριαν.

[14] See the Reaſon for his attending the Sophiſts in the Dialogues of *Plato*, *paſſim*.

[15] I am ſurpriz'd how that judicious Author Monſ. *Rollin* could fall into this common Miſtake; for he makes no Difference betwixt *hearing* the Lectures of *Archelaus*, and being his profeſs'd Diſciple. "Il fut Diſciple, ſays he, d'Archelaus, qui le prit fort en affection, celui ci avoit eté d'Anaxagore Philoſophe celebre." Roll. anc. Hiſt. v. 4.

no farther, but making the Welfare of Mankind the ſole Object of his Concern, "he "was the firſt [16], as *Tully* ſays, who called "PHILOSOPHY down from the Heavens, "plac'd her in Cities, introduc'd her into "private Families, and compell'd her to "enquire concerning human Life, Morals, "and the Good and Evil of every Action." Yet this was a Taſk too arduous to be performed all at once; for this Reaſon he began by Degrees, as Occaſion offered, to divert her Speculations, by the moſt intereſting Perſuaſions, from the Courſe of the Planets, the Nature of the heavenly Bodies, the Revolutions of Seaſons, and other phyſical Cauſes, (which the all-wiſe AUTHOR of the Univerſe managing himſelf, has conceal'd from our Comprehenſions, and if known,

[16] Sed ab antiqua Philoſophia uſque ad *Socratem*, qui *Archelaum Anaxagoræ* diſcipulum audierat, numeri, motuſque tractabantur et unde omnia orientur, quove recederent: ſtudioſeque ab his ſiderum magnitudines, intervalla, curſus enquirebantur, et cuncta cœleſtia. *Socrates* autem *primus* PHILOSOPHIAM devocavit e cœlo, et in urbibus collocavit, et in domos introduxit, et coegit de vita et moribus rebuſque bonis et malis quærere. Tuſc. Quæſt. lib. 4. And again: *Socrates* mihi videtur, id quod conſtat inter omnes, *primus* a rebus occultis et ab ipſa natura involutis, in quibus omnes ante eum Philoſophi occupati fuerunt, avocaſſe PHILOSOPHIAM, et ad vitam communem adduxiſſe, et de virtutibus et vitiis *omnino que* de bonis rebus et malis quæreret, cœleſtia autem vel procul eſſe a noſtra cognitione cenſeret, vel ſi maxime cognita eſſent, nihil tamen ad bene vivendum conferre. Academ. Quæſt. lib. 1.

would be by no means conducive to the Performance of our Duty) and at length totally familiariz'd her Meditations to the Regulation of that little World, which the DEITY has put into our Power, and all its mental Inhabitants of *Fears*, *Hopes*, and *Desires*.

Thus *Socrates* was the first who did *altogether* apply himself to the Study of Moral Philosophy; for altho' the *Pythagoric* School particularly, and several other Sects, had more or less *occasionally* taught it, yet Physics were still uppermost in their Minds, and the primary Object of their Considerations.

The *Sophists* at this Time were in great Repute all over *Greece*; they were not only introduc'd into private Families, and Seminaries of Learning for the Education of Youth, but had particular Places set apart in every City, where they instructed even the Adult in Arts, Sciences, Morals and Religion. These Men having public Stipends from the State, were entirely under the Direction of the Magistrates; and they in their Turn being governed by the Priests, thro' that political and sacerdotal [17] Union which

[17] There was a Pamphlet published in *England* a few Years ago, proposing to the Legislature a Law which, had it been put in Execution, would have been destructive of all civil and religious Liberty, subversive of the Constitution of the Kingdom, and introductory to more hierarchical Power than ever,

which has been ſo often deſtructive to Liberty and Truth in all Ages, took particular Care that nothing ſhould be taught in theſe Aſſemblies, or in private, but what conduced to the Promotion of their own Power, and that of their holy Maſters, by the ſacred Deluſion of eſtabliſh'd Superſtition.

The *Sophiſts* being thus preſcrib'd to and ſo highly intereſted in ſupport of the Prieſthood, taught their Diſciples not to ſearch after Truth, but implicitly believe that to be ſo which they learnt from them. They receiv'd Philoſophy too as well as Religion from the Hands of their Predeceſſors full of [18] Phantoms and Fables, which they occaſionally adorned and augmented to ſerve the Cauſe of partial Utility, to the irreparable Damage of public Good. *Socrates* therefore from the Beginning laboured under theſe Diſadvantages and Difficulties, which to others would have been inſurmountable. He had the Prejudices of Education firſt to overcome in himſelf, the Cuſtom-protected Ignorance of others to enlighten, Sophiſtry to confute, Malice, Envy, Calumny, and continual Inſults of his Adverſaries to endure, Poverty to undergo, Power to contend with,

ever, as yet, has been exerciſed even in the Inquiſitions of *Spain*, *Italy*, and *Portugal*.

[18] Plutar. de Genio Socr.

and what was the greateſt Labor of all, the vulgar Terrors and Darkneſs of Superſtition to diſſipate; all which, we ſhall find in the Sequel, he overcame with the true Wiſdom of a Philoſopher, and the diſintereſted Virtue of a Patriot, the Patience of a Saint, and the Reſolution of a Hero, at the Expence of all worldly Pleaſure, Wealth, Power, Fame, and laſtly Life itſelf, which he chearfully laid down for the ſake of his Country; ſealing with his Blood a Teſtimony of the Love he bore to his own Species, and his unchangeable Duty to the CREATOR and GOVERNOR of all Things.

As the *Graces* before ſpoken of, and ſeveral other Pieces of exquiſite Workmanſhip were his Performance, 'tis reaſonable to imagine that *Socrates* did not leave his Employment of a Statuary to apply himſelf totally to Philoſophy till he was near [19] thirty Years of Age, at which Time we may ſuppoſe it was that *Crito* furniſh'd him with the Means of thoroughly proſecuting his favorite Studies. From hence having no other Avocation, he continued ſome Years, after laying aſide thoſe uſeleſs Enquires into Phyſics as above mentioned, in the moſt uninter-

[19] Monſ *Charpentier* very juſtly ſays, Dans le Siecle qui etoit le Siecle de *Phidias* Je ne penſe pas qu'on eût pris un ignorant ou un apprentif, pour un ouvrage public. Dans la vie de Socr.

interrupted Application [20] to the Study of Moral Philoſophy. In this Retreat of Peace and Science he remained long unknown and unſignaliz'd, till at length an Opportunity offer'd to ſhew the moſt conſpicuous Examples of Valor, Friendſhip, and all the Virtues of a good Citizen, which he exerted for the Service of his Country in Fields of Battle. About the fourth Year of the eighty-ſixth *Olympiad*, *Socrates* being then thirty-ſix Years of Age, *Potidæa*, a City of *Thrace*, tributary to *Athens*, publicly revolted [21]. The *Athenians* immediately upon the News got together all their Forces and Auxiliaries, and marched to reduce that rebellious City. The General of the *Potidæans* hearing of their Approach came out and met them, when after a bloody Engagement he was forc'd to retire with

[20] It was at this Time he learn'd Rhetoric of the famous *Aſpaſia*, as neceſſarily conducive to the Cultivation of that divine Science. [Vide Plat. Menex.] This woman had a Genius not only ſuperior to all her own Sex, but greatly ſurpaſſing all her Contemporaries of the other too in Rhetoric and Politics. *Pericles* himſelf took no Meaſure relating to Government without her Advice. [Plut. in vit. Pericl.] And to her *Plato* attributes that excellent Compoſition, the Funeral Oration which *Thucydides* puts into the Mouth of *Pericles*. Tho' Moral Philoſophy was ever after his principal Study, yet other Arts and Sciences ſecondarily employed his Attention at leiſure Hours, for *Connus* was his Maſter in Muſic, *Evenus* in Poetry, *Iſimachus* in Agriculture, and *Theodorus* in Geometry. Max. Tyr. Diſſ. xxii.

[21] Thucyd. lib. 1.

great Loſs back again to his Fortifications. The victorious Army laid Siege to the City, and tho' they made a Blockade on every Side, the Beſieged held out with great Valor above two Years, at the End of which they were forced to ſurrender for want of Proviſions.

During this Siege, and in the preceding Engagement, *Socrates* ſigniliz'd himſelf upon every Occaſion; and having gain'd the Prize of Valor by the general Suffrage of his Competitors, he reſigned the Glory of it over [22] to *Alcibiades*, (whoſe Life he had juſt before ſaved in a Skirmiſh) as an Encouragement to that young Nobleman to become hereafter deſerving of more ſignal Honors from his Country.

From hence his Intimacy with *Alcibiades* began, in whoſe Tent he was entertained thro' the whole Expedition [23]; and this proud, ambitious, licentious Youth ever after, even in the midſt of Sycophants and Flatterers, had a filial Awe for his divine Preceptor [24]: Nor could the luxurious Eaſe of this wealthy Libertine, nor the plenteous Emoluments which abounded in his Train, ever ſeduce *Socrates* to relax the military Severities

[22] Plutarc. in vit. Alcib.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Plat. Alcib. prim.

verities he had inur'd himſelf to from the Beginning of the War; for even in the Depth of Winter, when others had occaſionally clothed themſelves againſt the Rigor of the Weather, he kept his ordinary Dreſs, and walked barefoot upon the Ice, as if the Inclemency of the Elements had no Power over a Philoſopher and Soldier [25]. By Temperance and a conſtant Perſeverance in the virtuous Toil of martial Exerciſes, he acquired a Conſtitution ſuperior to the Attacks of Diſeaſe; for when an almoſt univerſal Plague had ſeized upon the Camp, inſomuch that eleven hundred Men were carried off by the Contagion in the Army before *Potidæa*, and *Athens* itſelf was half depopulated, he eſcaped in both Places the Malady, and was the only one in the firſt that had not in ſome Meaſure felt the Severity of it [26].

As ſoon as *Potidæa* was brought again under Obedience to the Republic, *Socrates* returned to *Athens* to proſecute his beloved Meditations; nor indeed amidſt the continual

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[25] Plat. Conviv. That he always went barefoot we have the following Teſtimony from *Plato*, where *Phædrus* ſpeaking to *Socrates* ſays, εις καιρον, ως εοικεν, ανυποδητος ων ετυχον· Συ δη γε μεν αει. Plat Phæd.

[26] Diog. Laert. in vit. Socr. and *Ælian* ſays, ενοσουν Αθηναιοι πανδημει, και οι μεν απεθνησκον οι δε επιθανατιως ειχον, Σωκρατης δε MONOΣ ου ενοσησε τω αρχω. Var. Hiſt. lib. 13. cap. 27.

nual Noiſe, Avocations, and Dangers of a Camp, was his ardent Thirſt after Knowledge ever abated; for whenever his military Duty did not interfere, he would ſit whole Days in his Tent, employing his Mind in the moſt profound Contemplations [27].

Upon his Return Home we may ſuppoſe he firſt began his divine Diſcourſes (not with the Oſtentation and Pride of the Sophiſts, nor with the mercenary Views of ſuch, who, as I have juſt now obſerved, held forth at particular Times in Schools appointed for that Purpoſe, and were paid by the Magiſtrates and their Diſciples, but) in the public Streets [28], Walks, Baths, private

[27] In the Expedition at *Potidæa* he remained a whole Day and Night in the ſame Poſture, without ever moving, as it is related by *Plato* and *Diogenes Laertius*. *Aulus Gellius* ſpeaks of it as a Thing he was accuſtomed to do frequently. Inter labores voluntarios (ſays he) et exercitia corporis ad fortuitas patientiæ vices firmandi id quoque accepimus Socratem facere *inſueviſſe*. Stare *ſolitus Socrates* dicitur, pertinaci ſtatu, perdius atque pernox a ſummo lucis ortu ad ſolem alterum orientem, inconnivens, immobilis iiſdem in veſtigiis et ore atque oculis eundem in locum directis cogitabundis tamquam quodam ſeceſſu mentis atque animi facto a corpore. Noct. Att. lib. 2. cap. 1. By the Bye, mentis atque animi, ſhould be read mentis atque animæ, for mentis atque animi is Tautology, but mentis atque animæ makes it Senſe, and heightens the Deſcription; animus et mens both ſignifying the rational and immortal Soul in *Latin*, as Νους does in *Greek*; as anima et ſenſus et Ψυχη, in Contradiſtinction, the irrational, animal, and periſhable Soul. No doubt the Author wrote it ſo,

[28] Xen. Mem. lib. 1.

private Families, in ſhort, taking every Opportunity to inſtruct Mankind in all the Heart-enobling Duties of Humanity, and the ever Comfort-bringing Obligations of true Religion. But in both of theſe he found the World led aſtray by the deluſive Pageantry of Sophiſtry and Superſtition, ſupported by the falſe Concluſions of a deceitful Oratory. This rendered his Undertaking greatly difficult, nay, almoſt above the Power of human Nature to perform; for it is obſervable, that Learning employ'd in the Cauſe of wrong Opinions, makes ſtronger Bigots than the blind Ignorance of unletter'd Enthuſiaſm could ever pretend to.

As falſe Religion is always a Bane to Morality, *Socrates* found it neceſſary to begin with converting the *Athenians* from their impious Superſtitions; for as an Imitation of what we think moſt excellent is the End of our Endeavors, and the DIVINE NATURE being allowed to be ſo, the Worſhip of thoſe monſtrous *Deities*, that were then ador'd in *Greece*, extending its influence beyond Speculation to Practice, evidently ſubverted all true Notions of Juſtice and Virtue. "*Ju-*
"*piter* (ſaid one of theſe miſled [29] Reli-
" gioniſts)

[29] See *Plato's Euthyphron* throughout. This was the Reaſon why *Plato* baniſh'd the Poets from his Republic.

" gioniſts) is acknowledged to be the beſt " and juſteſt of the Gods, whom they " confeſs to have bound his Father in " Chains; yet they complain becauſe I " proſecute *my* Father, and thereby con- " tradict themſelves in judging ſo dif- " ferently of the Gods and me." Nevertheleſs, tho' he found this Superſtition an almoſt invincible Obſtacle to the Propagation of his own divine Doctrines, yet as it was interwoven by the Legiſlature into the civil Policy, and therefore whilſt eſtabliſh'd a Support to the Laws of his Country, which he always held in the higheſt Veneration, he proſecuted the End in view, not like a wild Enthuſiaſt intoxicated with his own Notions of Right, but with the Caution and Concern of a Patriot, thro' all Meaſures reſpecting the Peace of Society, and gently endeavoring by Degrees to untwiſt that civil and religious Union, which the Prieſts had ſo artfully wove together. He very well knew that the firſt Prejudices of Education are not all at once to be eradicated from human Hearts, eſpecially from thoſe of a People complexionally prone, as the *Athenians* were, to the groſſeſt Superſtition [30]. He therefore ſeemingly comply'd with

[30] This Obſervation the eloquent Apoſtle St. *Paul* made upon the *Athenians* ſome Centuries after, when he preach'd the

with all the external Ceremonies of Devotion, and often ſacrificed to the Gods upon the common Altars of the City [31]. This occaſional

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the living God at *Athens*, where being ſummoned to appear in the *Areopagus*, (which was then the Court appointed to inſpect into all Innovations in religious Affairs) and being called upon for preaching new Gods, he began thus: Ανδρες Αθηναιοι κατα παντα ως δεισιδαιμονεστερους υμας θεωρω, *Act.* cap. xvii. and afterwards took advantage of this Superſtition, and preached his own Doctrine under the Sanction of their Inſtitutions; for obſerving an Altar with this Inſcription upon it, *To the Unknown* GOD, (which, conformable to ancient Paganiſm, when the Temples were not filled, was left as a Tenement ready to receive any *Deity* newly introduced) he thus piouſly and wiſely perverted that blind Zeal, which tended to the Promotion of Polytheiſm, and made it inſtrumental to the Worſhip of *the* ONE *living* GOD. Διερχομενος (ſays he) και αναθεωρων τα σεβασματα υμων, ευρον και βωμον εν ω επεγεγραπτο, ΑΓΝΩΣΤΩ ΘΕΩ, ον ουν αγνοουντες ευσεβειτε, τουτον εγω καταγγελλω υμιν. Ο Θεος ο ποιησας τον κοσμον και παντα τα εν αυτω, ουτος ουρανου και γης Κυριος υπαρχων, ουκ εν χειροποιητοις ναοις κατοικει ουδε υπο χειρων ανθρωπων θεραπευεται, προσδεομενος τινος, αυτος διδους πασι ζωην και πνοην και τα παντα, *Act.* cap. xvii. One thing more is very remarkable, that is, when the Writer of the *Acts of the Apoſtles* ſays, τινες δε των Επικουρειων, και των Στωικων φιλοσοφων συνεβαλλον αυτω· και τινες ελεγον τι αν θελοι σπερμολογος ουτος λεγειν; οι δε ΞΕΝΩΝ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ καταγγελευς ειναι, he never mentions the Sect of *Platoniſts*, which was the moſt conſiderable at that Time in *Athens*. The Reaſon is this: The *Platoniſts*, even corrupted as they then were, ſtill retained ſo much of their Founder's Principles as to have a juſt Notion of the *Unity* of the DEITY, and therefore were neceſſarily Friends to that Part of the Doctrine of the holy *Apoſtle*.

[31] Θυων φανερος ην πολλακις μεν οικοι, πολλακις δε επι των κοινων της Πολεως βωμων. Xen. Mem. lib. For the ſame Reaſon *Xenophon* built a Temple to *Diana*. Vide Strabon.

occaſional Conformity [32] ſheltered him a while from the Notice of the jealous Hierarchy, and gave him frequent Opportunities of converſing with the moſt eminent Citizens, whilſt their Minds were warm with Gratitude to Heaven at the Shrines of their imaginary Deities, and thereby converting, by his irreſiſtable Arguments, their Zeal to the Service of Truth and Religion [33].

'Twas

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[32] Vide Plat. Apol.

[33] Monſ. *Rollin* not duly conſidering the Nature of the human Mind, and the Neceſſity there was at that Time for ſuch a Compliance, condemns this pretended Conformity of *Socrates* to the Superſtition of the *Athenians*, and with an Air of ill-natur'd Triumph, not becoming the Character of ſo good a Man, as the Profeſſor really was, cries out, "En "ſe defendant devant le peuple, il declara qu'il avoit toujours "recounu et honoré les memes dieux que les Atheniens. Voi-"la (ſays he) donc le Prince des Philoſophes declaré par "l'Oracle de Delphes le plus ſage des hommes, qui malgré "ſa conviction intime d'une unique divinité, meurt dans le "Sein de l' Idolatrie, et en faiſant profeſſion d'adorer tous "les dieux du paganiſme." Hiſt. anc. v. 4. Thus after having proved thro' the whole Courſe of that Chapter, that *Socrates* conſtantly and invariably believed and taught the *Unity* of the DEITY, when it was proper to communicate that important tho' dangerous Truth, he undoes all his Work in the Concluſion, by affirming upon account of this *external* and *popular* Declaration, that he died in the Boſom of *polytheiſtic* Idolatry; intimating that ſuch Profeſſions proceeded from Fear, and not from a Principle of ſocial Love (as it ſhall be proved they did in its proper Place, vide Book V. Note 13.) and the Directions of Wiſdom: but this, it ſeems afterwards, was introduced only to make a Compariſon betwixt the *Prince of Philoſophers* and ſome *Chriſtian* Martyrs, who reſolutely defended their Opinions upon all Occaſions, and fell a Sacrifice

'Twas upon one of theſe Occaſions that he met *Alcibiades* [34] going to the Temple, and having interrogated him according to Cuſtom concerning his Intention, and demonſtrated the Danger of ill-plac'd Petitions to the Gods, and miſtaken Worſhip, perſuaded the young *Athenian* to deſiſt from his Deſign, and made him almoſt a Convert to Truth. "Don't you think (ſays he) that "there is need of great Precaution in every "one, leſt while he thinks he prays for "Good, he ſhould aſk the greateſt Evil?" Then having convinced him of the Ignorance of Men, and the Goodneſs of the great GOVERNOR of the Univerſe, who diſpoſes all Things for the beſt, and educes Good out of what we think Evil, he gave him this ſhort Prayer of an ancient Poet, as comprehenſive alone of all Petitions. "GREAT GOD, give us thoſe Things which "are good for us, whether we pray for "them

Sacrifice to the Fury of their Perſecutors without any Recantation. He need not have been at this Trouble to depreciate the Character of *Socrates*, in order to make *their* Virtues the more conſpicuous; for had he let it remain in its own genuine unſullied Luſtre, the Actions of one who was only *mediately* governed by Heaven, muſt neceſſarily be infinitely inferior to thoſe of others, who were *immediately inſpired*. Such aukward and needleſs Attempts to recommend, have done more Diſſervice to our holy Religion than the warmeſt Attacks of the moſt learned Infidelity,

[34] The whole Diſcourſe is in that Dialogue of *Plato*'s, entitled the *ſecond Alcibiades, or concerning Prayer*.

" them or no; and keep thoſe Things which " are hurtful from us, even tho' we ſhould " aſk them of thee [35].

Whilſt he was thus glorioufly employed in vindicating the Honor of the divine Nature on one Hand, by alienating the Affections of Mankind from ſuch horrid Superſtitions and abſurd Prejudices, he had on the other as falſe Opinions of a different Extreme to confute, which were equally ungrateful to the Benevolence of Heaven; for whilſt the well-meaning Errors of thoſe, who were ſtubbornly zealous in a miſapply'd Devotion, had loaded Religion with contemptible Pomp and Superfluities, a kind of a *faſhionable* Infidelity prevailed among others, which tended to the total Deſtruction of it. " Let it be a ſufficient Reaſon (ſaid he to one of theſe who required a Sight of GOD for a Conviction of the Exiſtence of his Being) " to honor and adore " the Gods [36] that you have ſeen their " Works,

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[35] Ζευ Βασιλευ, τα μεν εσθλα ϗ ευχομενοις ϗ ανευκτοις Αμμι διδου, τα δε δεινα ϗ ευχομενοις απαλεξειν Κελευει. Plut. Alcib.

[36] *Cudworth* is willing to prove from this Paſſage, that *Socrates* was a real *Polytheiſt*. His Remark is this: " But " notwithſtanding *Socrates* his thus clear acknowledging ONE " SUPREME and UNIVERSAL NUMEN, it doth not therefore " follow that he rejected all thoſe other inferior *Gods* of the " *Pagans*, as is commonly conceived; but the contrary " thereunto appeareth from this Paſſage now cited, wherein " there

" Works, and look upon this to be the only
" way in which they manifeſt themſelves to
" us. Of all the Deities that are ſo benefi-
" cent to us, none of them have in the
" Execution of their Goodneſs appeared to
" our Sight; and that SOVEREIN GOD who
" created all Things, and continues to go-
" vern the Univerſe, is ſeen as the Author
" of ſuch wonderful Works, but neverthe-
" leſs is inviſible to our Eyes in this divine
" Employment. The Soul of Man partakes
" (if any thing human can do ſo) of the
" *divine Nature*, and that it governs the
" Body is obſervable to all; but the Soul
" itſelf is imperceptible to our Senſe of ſee-
" ing. Conſidering theſe Things therefore,
" you ought not to deſpiſe the Beings that
" are concealed from the Sight, but becom-

 " ing

" there is Mention made of other *Gods* beſides the SUPREME." Intell. Syſt. p. 400. But ſurely this great and learned Divine had not thoroughly conſidered the Character and Scope of *Socrates*, nor the whole Tenor of this Paſſage in *Xenophon*, when he aſſerted, that our Philoſopher did not reject the popular *Pagan Gods*, becauſe *other Gods* are mentioned beſides the SUPREME. It muſt be conſidered, that *Socrates* was diſputing in this Place with a Man very much prone if not to poſitive *Atheiſm*, yet to the higheſt Scepticiſm in Affairs of Religion; his Buſineſs therefore was to bring him over from ſuch erroneous Opinions the moſt obvious way poſſible, and this was to be done by familiarizing his Notions by Degrees to the Exiſtence of *ſome* Deity, and afterwards to convince him of the *only True* ONE. This then he did with the greateſt Addreſs imaginable, by beginning with th

" ing acquainted with their Power from " what they perform, 'tis your Duty to wor- " ſhip the Divinity [37]." In ſuch Exhortations was he conſtantly employed; for he very well knew how quick the Tranſition is from unſettled Scepticiſm in Affairs of Religion, to a total Neglect of all when the Mind is ungovern'd by the Dictates of Reaſon, or ſway'd by Prejudice, or ſeduc'd by Pleaſure; and that too frequently to the Contempt of the *outward Forms* of Worſhip, enſu'd the unreſtrain'd Omiſſion of divine Worſhip in general. He therefore took the moſt particular Care to inculcate, that the DEITY was pleaſed with theſe unfeigned, though not wanted, Acknowledgments of his divine Goodneſs. Thus when

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theſe Alluſions to the Phyſiological (and not to either the Civil or Fabulous) Theology of the Deities who directed the Heat and Light, the Thunder, Rains, Winds, &c. &c. all which natural Cauſes untheologized were ſo beneficial to Mankind. Theſe he calls *Gods*, and the *Miniſters* of the *Gods*, to adapt his Language to the Capacity of *Enthydemus*. However we find that he aſſerts that there was one Supreme Being, who created and continues to govern all Things for univerſal Good, whom he not only calls by way of Diſtinction Ὁ [*i. e.* Θεος] but in the Concluſion ſays, to indicate more circumſtantially his Meaning, χρη τιμαν το Δαιμονιον. Whether any one who believes in ſuch a Being, and his neceſſary Attributes, can really afterwards imagine that he would admit more Beings into an Equality of State, or Sameneſs of Eſſence, with himſelf, I leave the ſerious Reader to determine.

[37] Xenoph. Mem. lib. 4.

when *Ariſtodemus*, a Man inclinable to an irreligious Diſregard of that reverential Awe due to the CREATOR of the World, ſaid, "That he was too great a Being "to need his Worſhip;" *Socrates* replied, "The Greater he is, the more "Reſpect is due unto him [38]." To which this Libertine anſwering, "That he would "not be remiſs in his Regard to the Gods, "if he thought they concerned themſelves "with human Affairs;" *Socrates* proceeded to demonſtrate, that all Things were not only diſpos'd by a *divine Power* for *univerſal* Harmony, but that there was alſo a *particular* Care taken of Mankind; and then concludes his Confutation of thoſe *Atheiſtical* [39] Notions, with this beautiful Illuſtration

[38] Xenoph. Mem. lib. 1.

[39] I call theſe Notions *Atheiſtical*, becauſe of their Tendency to promote a Practice juſtly deemed ſo. Thus *Epicurus* and his Followers, who eſpouſed theſe very Sentiments of *Ariſtodemus*, tho' they believ'd the *Exiſtence* of a *Deity* or *Deities*, as he did, yet, as they entertained ſuch unworthy Opinions of their *Natures*, in regard to their Indifference towards Mankind, were by the united Suffrage of all other Sects called *Atheiſts*. The *Roman Epicurean* Poet, who retails the Tenets of the whole Sect, ſpeaking of the *divine Nature* ſays,

——*Divum natura*——
Semota ab noſtris rebus, ſejunctaque longe;
. . . . . .
Nec bene promeritis capitur, &c.
Lucr. De Nat. Rer. lib. 1.

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luſtration of the Almighty Power of GOD compar'd by Analogy with the infinitely inferior Faculties of Man, which he before prov'd to excel in the higheſt Degree thoſe of all other Animals. " Obſerve, " my Friend (ſays he) how the Soul go- " verns at Will the Body it inſpires; be " convinc'd therefore that the DIVINE SA- " PIENCE, which pervades the Univerſe, " governs in like manner all Things ac- " cording to its Pleaſure. Think not if " your Eye is able to ſee many Furlongs, " that it is impoſſible for the Eye of GOD " to behold all Things: Or, if your Soul " is capable of thinking of what happens " either

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In the ſame manner *Velleius*, that impudent *Epicurean*, in *Tully*'s Book *De Natura Deorum* deſcribes from his Maſter *the divine Nature*. " Vera expoſita eſt (ſays he) illa ſententia " ab *Epicuro*, quod æternum, beatumq; ſit, id nec habere " ipſum negotii quidquam, nec exhibere altera." Cicer. De Nat. Deor. As if the Happineſs of the DEITY conſiſted in Idleneſs! Thus our Species was left by theſe *Ideal Epicurean Gods* (who were drawn like their mortal Devotees in a State of pleaſurable Indolence, having no Intercourſe with, or Care of Mankind) as much *to a forlorn Nature and fatherleſs World* (as a noble Author phraſes it) as if there had been no *God* at all. *Cudworth* is of Opinion that *Epicurus* himſelf was an abſolute *Atheiſt*. " [Intell. Syſt. p. 60.] and that he " only profeſſed his Belief of ſuch Beings to decline the com- " mon Odium, and thoſe Dangers and Inconveniences which " otherwiſe he might have incurred by a downright Denial " of a *God*." Whether ſuch were his Opinions or no is little material, ſince even his own Profeſſions, tho' not ſtrictly ſo in Language, were *atheiſtical* as relative to Mankind, and equally deſtructive to Morality.

" either here, in *Egypt*, or in *Sicily*, that " the all-comprehending Wiſdom is unable " to take Care of the whole Creation. In " like manner (adds the philoſophic Hiſto- " rian) *Socrates* taught his Diſciples to re- " frain from doing what was unjuſt and " baſe, not only when they were in pub- " lic, but in the moſt private Receſſes, as " no Action, how ſacred ſoever, could be " concealed from the Inſpection of the " Deity [40]."

The Reputation of *Socrates* being pretty well eſtabliſhed on Account of his uncommon Doctrines and Abilities, he ſoon became the Envy of Sophiſts, who too plainly perceived their Audiences daily decreaſe to attend to his Diſcourſes; but what ſtill heightened their Reſentment, was the unwearied Pains he ſucceſsfully took to confute their Sophiſtry and detect their Ignorance; for as we find in *Plato* [41], he would frequently enter into Diſputes with them, and never fail'd of triumphing over all their Arts, and receiving an Applauſe due to his Merit, even from their own Diſciples, whom he generally made Proſelytes in the End, and added to the Train of his own Followers. As the Reader, I

[40] Xen. Mem. lib. 1.
[41] Plat. Prot. Soph. &c. &c.

imagine, may be deſirous of knowing by what Arts theſe vain Profeſſors of Wiſdom had rais'd themſelves into ſuch Eſteem in every City of *Greece*, I ſhall tranſcribe the Fable which *Protagoras* uſed in that famous Diſpute with *Socrates*, to prove, *that Virtue could be taught*, as a proper Specimen of ſuch learned Deluſion.

" There was a Time (ſays he) when " the Gods were alone, and mortal Beings " were not made; but when the fated " Time for Creation of theſe came, the " *Gods* form'd them in the Earth, by mix- " ing Earth, Fire, and other Elements " whereof they are compoſed, together; " but when they were about to bring " them to Light, they ordered [42] *Prome-* " *theus* and *Epimetheus* to adorn them, and " diſtribute to them all convenient Qua- " lities. *Epimetheus* requeſted *Prometheus* " that he might be ſuffered to make this " Diſtribution, and that *Prometheus* ſhould " be a Spectator of the Operation. The " latter conſented, and the former enter'd " into his Employment. In this Diviſion " then

[42] In this ingenious Fable, which is allegorical, under the Name of *Prometheus* is perſonalized that MIND which was created by the FIRST CAUSE to pervade and govern the Univerſe; and under that of *Epimetheus* is repreſented *mere Nature*, and the ſecond Subſtitute of the CREATOR, according to the Tenet of ſeveral ancient Philoſophers.

" then he gave Strength without Swiftneſs
" to ſome, and others that were weaker he
" furniſh'd with Swiftneſs. To ſome he
" gave a natural Armor, and upon thoſe
" who were defenceleſs in this Point, he
" beſtowed other Means of Safety. He
" taught ſeveral to whom he had given
" ſmall Bodies, to ſeek for Safety in the
" Air by their Wings, or to find it in the
" Caverns of the Earth; and thoſe to
" whom he had allotted large Bodies, he
" inſtructed to defend themſelves by their
" Bulk. Thus he finiſhed his impartial
" Diſtribution, taking particular Care that
" no Race ſhould be extirpated. After
" having ſufficiently provided them with
" Means for defending themſelves againſt
" each other, he contriv'd in the next
" place a Protection againſt the Inclemen-
" cies of the Weather, and cloathed them
" with thick Hair and ſtrong Skins, ſuffi-
" cient to expel the Winter's Cold and
" Summer's Heat, which ſerv'd as a Co-
" vering and a Bed to lye upon when they
" ſlept; and he likewiſe arm'd their Feet
" with Claws, and their Soles with a ſtif-
" fer Poil, and a Skin of a more callous
" Nature. When this was done, he be-
" ſtowed proper Food upon each; to ſome
" he aſſigned Herbs and Fruit, to others
" Roots of the Earth, and there was
" a third Sort to whom he gave the Fleſh

" of other Animals for Suſtenance; but to " theſe he granted ſmall Increaſe, and " made others, whom they fed upon, " extreamly fruitful, for the Preſervation " of the Kind. But *Epimetheus* being not " perfectly wiſe [43] he forgot that, by be- " ſtowing all theſe Powers upon Beaſts, " he had left the human Race defenceleſs, " and therefore was confounded what to " do in this Caſe, when *Prometheus* in the " Midſt of this Difficulty came to inſpect " into his Adminiſtration. He ſaw upon " this Inſpection that all Animals had every " thing convenient for them, excepting " Man, who was left naked, unarm'd, and " totally unprovided for. The fated Day " being now come, when Man was to be " brought into Light, *Prometheus* having " no other Way to provide for his Safety, " ſtole from *Minerva* and *Vulcan* their Wiſ- " dom relating to Arts, together with Fire " from the latter, (for without Fire this " Wiſdom would have been uſeleſs) and " beſtowed them upon Man. With theſe " Man provided himſelf with the Neceſſa- " ries of Life, but as yet had not receiv'd " the Knowledge which related to Politics.

" That

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[43] This Expreſſion ου παυ σοφος. and the Etymology of the Word Επιμηθευς, ſufficiently demonſtrate that *mere* NATURE was hereby meant, as is obſerv'd in the Note above [n. [42]]

" That Knowledge was in the Poſſeſſion
" of JUPITER, and it was not permitted
" *Prometheus* to enter into the high Habi-
" tation of the *firſt* of the *Gods*, whoſe
" Throne was ſurrounded by ſuch terrible
" Guards as deterred him from the At-
" tempt. He therefore went into the com-
" mon Room, where *Vulcan* and *Minerva*
" excercis'd this Art, and ſtealing clande-
" ſtinely from the one the executive Part,
" and from the other the inventive, he be-
" ſtowed it, as was mention'd before, upon
" Man, and with that he had the Power
" of acquiring what was needful for the
" Support of Life [44]. *Frometheus* (as was
" ſaid) was afterwards puniſhed for this
" Theft, which was occaſion'd by the Ne-
" glect and Omiſſion of *Epimetheus*. Thus
" Man having partook of this divine Lot,
" was the only one of all Animals, who, by
" Reaſon of his Affinity to the *divine Na-*
" *ture*, perceiv'd *there were Gods*; who
" built Altars and erected Statues in Ho-
" nour of them; he invented articulate
" Sounds, and Names for all Things, built
" Houſes, made Cloaths, and gathered Food
" for

[44] In this Place the fabulous *Theology*, or more properly *Mythology*, is confounded with the Phyſiological; but it is obſervable that this Sentence, as not properly belonging to the reſt, is introduc'd in a kind of Parentheſis, with this cautionary Expreſſion, ὡς λεγεται.

" for himſelf, from the Fruit of the Earth.
" Nevertheleſs, though Men were thus
" provided for, in the Beginning they
" dwelt diſpers'd; for as yet there were
" no Cities, and were often devoured on
" account of their inferior Strength by the
" wild Beaſts. For theſe Arts were ſuffi-
" cient to acquire Nouriſhment for their
" Bodies it is true, but were uſeleſs in the
" Wars againſt their Enemies the wild
" Beaſts, for they were entirely ignorant of
" Politics, of which the Art of War is
" one Branch. That they might therefore
" be defended againſt theſe Inconvenien-
" cies, they gathered themſelves together
" and built Cities; but when they were
" collected into Societies, not having Know-
" ledge of civil Laws, they offer'd Vio-
" lences to one another, and for that Rea-
" ſon were obliged to diſperſe again, and
" became once more expos'd to the Fury of
" the Beaſts. JUPITER fearing the Race
" of Mankind ſhould be extirpated, ſent
" *Mercury* to carry *Shame* and *Juſtice*
" among Men, that they might be Orna-
" ments to Cities, and confirm the Bonds
" of Love and Friendſhip among them.
" *Mercury* aſk'd JUPITER in what Manner
" he ſhould diſtribute *Shame* and *Juſtice*,
" whether in the ſame as the Arts were?
" For theſe, ſaid he, were divided thus: He
" who

" who has the medicinal Art is able to " ſerve many Individuals, as are all other " Artiſts in their reſpective Way; and ſhall " I diſtribute *Shame* and *Juſtice* according to " this Rule, or give them indiſcriminately " to all? *To all*, replied JUPITER; they " muſt *all* be Partakers of them, for no City " will ever be able to exiſt if they are only " communicated to a few, as the Arts are. " Beſides, you ſhall proclaim this Law in " my Name, that *he who has not Shame* " *and Juſtice ſhall be cut off as a Plague* " *to Society* [45]."

The Reader will eaſily obſerve how many falſe Circumſtances are artfully obtruded into this Fable, and it was thro' ſuch fallacious Vehicles the *Sophiſts* conveyed their ſpurious Wiſdom; in which plauſible Deceits they were ſo long and early train'd up, that, tho' it was no difficult Matter to confute them and detect their erroneous Reaſoning before competent Judges of Truth, it would have been impracticable to have undeceived the Populace, and ſuch as moſt wanted Inſtruction, by the common Methods of the ſame refined Eloquence [46]. On this Account *Socrates*

[45] Plat. Prot. p. 23.

[46] Thus we find by *Plato*'s Dialogue, that *Protagoras* triumphed for a while over *Socrates*, [Plat. Pro. p. 232.] and received

crates introduced that Method of Reaſoning called [47] *Induction*, which by always interrogating, and never affirming any thing, inveſtigated Truth without dogmatically aſſerting it, and made the Antagoniſt himſelf, before he was aware of the Counter-plot laid againſt him, confute the Fallacy of his own

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received a Clap of Applauſe from the Audience as a Token of Victory, till he was brought to anſwer to thoſe ſhort Interrogations, which ſoon confounded his evaſive ſophiſtical Oratory, and concluded the Diſpute to his Conviction.

[47] *Tully* ſpeaking of the Manner by which *Socrates* confuted his Opponents, ſays, " Hoc modo [*i. e. inductione*] " *Socrates* plurimum uſus eſt, propterea quod nihil ipſe af- " ferre ad perſuadendum volebat, ſed ex eo, quod ſibi ille " dederat, qui cum diſputabat, aliquid conficere malebat, " quod ille ex eo, quod jam conceſſiſſet, neceſſario appro- " bare deberet." Cic. de Invent. lib. 1. *Quintilian* too deſcribes it thus: " Illa qua plurimum *Socrates* eſt uſus, hanc " habuit viam, ut cum plura interrogaſſet quæ fateri adver- " ſario receſſe eſſet noviſſime id de quo quærebatur, inferet " cui ſimile conceſſiſſet. Id eſt *Inductio*." Quinct. de Inſtit. Ora. lib. 5. c. 11. And this is the Method purſued in the Dialogues of *Plato*, as the ſame Author obſerves: " Si quod " tamen exemplum ad imitationem demonſtrandum ſit, ſolum " eſt quod ex dialogis *Socraticorum*, maximeque *Platonis*, " duci poteſt: in quibus adeo ſcitæ ſunt interrogationes, ut " cum pleriſque bene reſpondeatur, res tamen ad id quod " volunt efficere, perveniat." Ibid. lib. 5. cap. 7. Another Reaſon for uſing *Induction*, beſides that already aſſign'd, was his *Diffidence*, for he would never poſitively aſſert any thing, as *Ariſtotle* teſtifies, επει καὶ δια τουτο Σωκρατης ηρωτα αλλ' ουκ απεκρινετο ωμολογει γὰρ μη ειδεναι. De Soph. Elench. lib. 2. c. 34. *Socrates* owns in the *Sophiſt* of *Plato*, that he learnt this Method from *Parmenides*.—δι' ερωτησεων οιον ποτε καὶ Παρμενιδη χρωμενω καὶ διεξιον τι λογοις παγκαλοις παρεγενομην εγω Νεος ων.

own ill-grounded Propoſitions. By theſe Means he, without aſſuming any Pretenſion to Knowledge himſelf, baffled the Sophiſtry, detected the Ignorance, and expoſed the vain-glorious Deſigns of theſe pompous Profeſſors of Wiſdom.

The End of the First Book.

THE

L. P. Boitard Jnv.t et Sculp.t

THE

LIFE
OF
SOCRATES.

BOOK II.

ABOUT the Time that *Socrates* began to be eminent, *Plato* was born at *Athens*; and among the many * other fabulous Accounts which are related concerning this Philoſopher, one in particular

* There was a common Story prevailed (in the Stile of thoſe Times, which made ſomething or other miraculous attend or precede the Birth of every great Man) that *Apollo* appear'd to *Ariſto*, [Vide Suid. et Plutar. Symp.] the Father of *Plato*, in a Dream, and forbad him to have any Commerce

lar is told as a prophetic Viſion of his future Glory. 'Tis ſaid *Socrates* dreamt one Night [2] that a young Swan flew from the Altar which was in the *Academy* conſecrated to *Love*, and ſettled in his Boſom; and afterwards, being grown to full Maturity, took his Flight towards Heaven, and charm'd both Gods and Men with the Sweetneſs of his Song. 'Tis farther added that *Socrates*, many Years after, when *Ariſto* brought his Son firſt to the *Academy*, cry'd out to the reſt of his Diſciples, This is the Swan, pointing to *Plato*, which I ſaw fly from the Altar of *Love*, and ſettle in my Boſom. But regarding

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merce with his Wife *Perictione*, becauſe ſhe was with Child by him; that *Ariſto* obey'd, and *Perictione* being brought to bed of *Plato* on the Day of the Nativity of *Apollo*, it was look'd upon that he was the Child of that God. *Plutarch* thinks this was meant allegorically, and in that Senſe he obſerves, *Plato* may juſtly be ſaid to be the Son of the God of Phyſic, becauſe he cur'd the Souls of Men from the worſt of Diſtempers, inordinate Deſires. But whatever Deſign the Author had in the Invention, ſuch was the Superſtition of the Times, that it was believ'd to be literally true. St. *Jerom* ſomewhere adds, that the Philoſophers who propagated this Story (they muſt be very poor Philoſophers indeed) believ'd too, that *Plato* was born of a Virgin.

[2] Somnium *Socrates* ſcitum fertur. Nam vidiſſe ſibi viſus eſt cygni pullum ex altari, quod in *Academia Cupidini* conſecratum eſt, volaſſe et in ejus gremio reſidiſſe: et poſtea olorem illum pennis cœlum petiſſe, canore muſico, auditus hominum Deorumque mulcentem. Luc. Apul. de Dog. Plat. Another Prognoſtication of the ſame Kind attended *Plato* in his Infancy, according to the Traditions of the ſame Wonder-telling Ages. When he was yet in the Arms of his Mother, ſhe

ing ſuch Stories as theſe in their true Light, *viz.* the After-invention of ingenious Writers, who thus *figuratively* deſcrib'd that exalted Genius in a few Words, which the utmoſt Extent of their own never could have done in plain Language, *Plato* in every Reſpect anſwered this emblematical Deſcription. He is repreſented, for the Sweetneſs and Harmony of his Stile, by a Swan, the ancient Symbol of Muſic; by the Altar of *Love* in the Gardens of *Academus*, is depicted that Humanity or Philanthropy which was the great Excellence of that glorious Seminary; the ſettling in the Boſom of *Socrates*, flying from thence towards Heaven, and

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ſhe and her Huſband *Ariſto* went to the Mountain *Hymettus* to ſacrifice to the *Muſes*, and whilſt they were employ'd in the ſacred Ceremonies, they laid the Child in a Thicket of Myrtles; in whoſe Mouth, as he ſlept, a Swarm of Bees ſettled and made a Honey-comb. Ælian. var. hiſt, lib. 20. cap. 21. Antiquity abounds with Legends of this Sort concerning eminent Men, Heroes, Philoſophers, and Poets, in alluſion to which, *Horace* beautifully deſcribes himſelf in the ſame Situation.

Me fabuloſæ Vulture in Appulo,
Altricis extra limen Apuliæ,
Ludo fatigatumque ſomno,
Fronde novâ puerum palumbes
Texêre - - - - - - - -
Ut tuto ab atris corpore viperis
Dormirem & urſis: ut premerer ſacra
Lauroque, collataque myrto,
Non ſine dis animoſus infans.

Lib. 3. Od. 4.

charming both Gods and Men with his melodious Voice, ſignify, that after he had gain'd the Knowledge of Truth from the very Breaſt of his divine Maſter, he adorn'd it with ſuch beautiful and ſublime Language, that tho' his Doctrines might be eaſily comprehended for their Simplicity by the loweſt of Mankind, they became the Admiration of thoſe too that were exalted above the reſt of their Species by the moſt refin'd Underſtandings.

The Fame of *Socrates* ſtill increaſing more and more, not only at *Athens* but thro' all *Greece*, he was reſorted to from all Quarters by the moſt eminent [3] and learned Men: and tho, the common Practice of the Times [4] allowed him to take a proper

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[3] *Aulus Gellius* relates a remarkable Inſtance of the Reſolution of one of *Socrates*'s Diſciples, who underwent the greateſt Danger to come to attend his Diſcourſes. "Decreto *Athenienſes* caverant, ut, qui *Megaris* civis eſſet, ſi "intuliſſe *Athenas* pedem prehenſus eſſet, ut ea res ei homini capitalis eſſet, tanto *Athenienſes* odio flagrabant finitimorum hominum *Megarenſium*. Tum *Euclides*, qui "idem *Megaris* erat, quique, ante id decretum et eſſe "*Athenis* et audire *Socratem* conſueverat, poſtquam id decretum ſanxerunt, ſub noctem, quum adveſpereſcet, tunica "longa muliebri indutus, et pallio verſicolore amictus, et "caput rica velatus, e domo ſua *Megaris Athenas* ad *Socratem* commeabat; ut vel noctis aliquo tempore conſiliorum "ſermonumque ejus fieret particeps: rurſuſque ſub lucem "millia paſſuum paulo amplius viginti, eadem veſte illa "tectus redibat." Noct. Attic. lib. 6. c. 10.

[4] The Thirſt after Knowledge among the *Athenian* Youth was ſo great, that they gave incredible Sums to the *Sophiſts* for

proper Reward for his Labors, by which he might ſoon have acquir'd immenſe Riches; ſuch was the diſintereſted Generoſity of this benevolent man, that he would never receive, even in his greateſt Exigencies, any pecuniary Conſideration for his Inſtructions, but freely diſtributed to all, as their Occaſions requir'd, the ineſtimable Treaſure of Wiſdom and Virtue, which Gold could never purchaſe. On this Account *Plato* makes him ſay in his *Apology* [5] that he was ſent by GOD himſelf to the *Athenians*; but this ſeems to be more *Plato*'s own Thought of him than *Socrates*'s Expreſſion; and it is greatly conformable to the Stile of this great Diſciple whenever he ſpoke of his Maſter, whom he almoſt ador'd: and in the laſt Hours of his Life, having prais'd the great CREATOR for all his Bounties in *general*, he thank'd him for theſe three Things in *particular*; firſt, *that he had given him a reaſon-*

for Inſtruction, as we find in *Plato*'s *Protagoras*, where *Hippocrates* the Son of *Apollodorus* declares to *Socrates*, that he would give the *Sophiſts* not only all the Money he was then poſſeſs'd of, but would borrow more of his Friends for that End. See alſo *Plato*'s *Hippias major*.

[5] Οτι δ' εγω τυγχανω ων τοιουτος οιος υπο του Θεου τη πολει δεδομαι, ενθενδε αι κατανοησατε. Ου γαρ ανθρωπινω εοικε το εμε των μεν εμαυτου απαντων ημεληκεναι, και ανεχεσθαι των οικειων αμεληθεντων τοσαυτα ηδη ετη, το δε ημετερων πραττειν αει, ιδια εκαστω προσιοντα, ωσπερ πατερα η αδελφον πρεσβυτερον, πειθοντα επιμελεισθαι αρετης. Plat. Apol.

able Soul, that is, *made him a Man, and not a Beaſt*; the ſecond was, *that he was born a Greek, and not a Barbarian*; and the third, above all, *that he was born whilſt* Socrates *was alive* [6].

Amidſt this Heart-enobling Purſuit after Wiſdom and Virtue, amidſt the Careſſes and almoſt Adoration of the wiſeſt and beſt Men, the Soul of *Socrates* was never elevated above the common Concerns of private Life, or the leſs engaging Stations of public Service, by that ſcientifical Affectation, which has too often tainted the Breaſts of Philoſophers; for a military Expedition being projected againſt the *Bœotians*, he voluntarily [7] embarked in the Enterprize, being forward upon every Opportunity to prefer the Call of his Country to his own private Inclinations. After ſome Time the two Armies join'd Battle at *Delium*, where the *Athenians* being overcome, and a great Havock made in their Troops, [8] *Socrates* ſigniliz'd his Courage both in the Battle and the Retreat; in the latter, not precipitately flying as the reſt of the

[6] Plut. in vit. Marii.

[7] For a more explicit Account of this Expedition, vide Thucyd. lib. 4.

[8] In *Plato*'s Dialogue entitled *Laches*, the General, ſo call'd, declares, that if every one had done his Duty at the Battle of *Delium* like *Socrates*, the Fate of the Day would have been inverted, and the *Bœotians* vanquiſh'd.

the Army did, but retiring Foot by Foot with his Face [9] still towards the Enemy; when perceiving *Xenophon* thrown from his Horse and wounded, he took him upon his Shoulders, and carried him out of all Danger [10]. By this Action he both did the Re-

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[9] The Retreat of *Ajax* in the *Iliad* is the same.

Εντροπαλιζομενος, ολιγον γονυ γυνος αμειβων.

Il. λ. lin. 545.

As is that of *Menelaus*, *Iliad.* lib. P. lin. 109. And that of *Turnus* in *Virgil*, *Æn.*

Ceu sævum turba leonem
Cum telis premit infensis: at territus ille,
Asper, acerba tuens, retro redit: et neque terga
Ira dare, aut virtus patitur; nec tendere contra
Ille quidem hoc cupiens potis est per tela virosque.
Haud aliter retro *dubius vestigia* Turnus
Improperata refert. lib. 9. lin. 792.

Diogenes Laerites describes the Retreat of *Socrates* thus: Αυτος ηρεμα ανεχωρει παρεπιστρεφομενος ησυχη, καὶ τηρων αμυνασθαι ει τις οι απελθοι. In vit. Soc. Even the paltry Buffoon *Lucian*, whose Soul seems to have had a natural Antipathy to every serious Concern of Humanity, the laughing Malignity of which was never more gratify'd than when the most sacred Characters, and most godlike Actions our Nature is capable of, became the Object of its Scurrility; even he, who would have been rejoic'd, from his known Distate to all that was good or great, to have scoff'd at the Valor of *Socrates*, was forc'd against his own Disposition by the Power of Truth to bear Testimony to the great Merit of this Action. Speaking of a fictitious Battle among the Dead, he places *Socrates* among the greatest Heroes of Antiquity, and even signalizing his Courage above them all, wherein he alludes to this memorable Engagement at *Delium*. Ηριστευσε δε Σωκρατης επι τω δεξιω ταχθεις πολυ μαλλον, η οτε ζων επι Δηλιω εμαχετο· προσιοντων γὰρ πολεμιων ουκ εφυγε, καὶ το προσωπον ατρεπτος ην. Hist. ver. lib. 2.

[10] Strab. Geog. lib. 9.

public the higheſt Service in preſerving the Life of a Citizen, who afterwards was a noble Shield [11] and Ornament to it, and gain'd to himſelf a moſt unalterable Friend thro' Life, and a faithful Hiſtorian of his divine Actions and Precepts after his Death [12].

This Expedition being ended, *Socrates* return'd to *Athens*, where he found the *Prieſts*, *Sophiſts*, and *Orators*, had, during his Abſence, form'd no inconſiderable Party againſt him. *Ariſtophanes*, the famous, or more properly infamous, comic Poet, hir'd, as it is ſuppos'd, by this Cabal to ſound the Diſpoſition of the People, was the firſt who attack'd him in a Comedy call'd *the Clouds*, wherein he was the chief Perſon of the Drama [13]. In this Piece *Socrates* was repreſented

[11] See his own Account of the Retreat of the ten thouſand *Greeks* out of *Aſia*, after the Defeat of *Cyrus* the Younger.

[12] *Xenophon*'s Memorabilia.

[13] The Comedy of the *Clouds* was acted for the firſt Time in the firſt Year of the eighty-ninth *Olympiad*, *Ijarchus* being then *Archon*, and *Socrates* forty-five Years old, (according to the moſt ancient *Scholiaſts* upon *Ariſtophanes*) when not being well receiv'd by the Audience, *Ariſtophanes* alter'd it, made ſeveral new Additions, and brought it again upon the Stage in the Year following, *Amynias* being *Archon*, but with leſs Succeſs than before. What aſcertains the Date of the ſecond Performance, even in the Comedy itſelf, is this remarkable Paſſage ſo ſarcaſtical upon *Amynias*, who during his Magiſtracy made a diſhonorable Ceſſation of Arms with the *Lacedæmonians*.

Σοκρ.

ſented hanging up in a Baſket in the Air, uttering numberleſs chimerical Abſurdities, and blaſpheming, as it was then reputed, the Gods of his Country,

When *Socrates* heard of this Performance, he went to the Theatre, to be himſelf a Spectator, (tho' till then he never frequented thoſe Diverſions, except when the Tragedies of *Euripides* were perform'd, in which, 'tis reported, he himſelf had no inconſiderable Hand [14]) where, notwithſtanding the groſs Abuſe that was offer'd to his Character, he did not ſhew the leaſt Signs

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Σωκρ. - - - - - - Γυναικα δη την Αμυνιαν καλεις.
Στρ. Ουκουν δικαιως, ος τις ε σεφανεται.

Ælian, according to his wonted Accuracy, has made a moſt egregious Blunder, either in regard to the Age of *Melitus* or the Date of this Piece, for he ſays that *Melitus* was concern'd in hiring *Ariſtophanes* to compoſe it; now *Melitus*, when *Socrates* was brought to his Tryal, (which was three or four and twenty Years after this Play was performed, being in the firſt Year of the ninety-fifth Olympiad) is call'd even then a very young Man; for *Socrates* ſpeaks of him thus in *Plato*'s Dialogue entitled *Euthyphron*, the Time of which is a little before his Condemnation, Νεος γδ τις μοι φαινεται κ αγνως. If therefore he was a young Man at the Accuſation of *Socrates*, he certainly muſt have been too young to have entered into any Plots four and twenty Years before that Time. Whether it was this Blunder of *Ælian*'s, or want of Attention, which has miſled ſo many Moderns in regard to the Date and Succeſs of this Comedy, (among whom to my no ſmall Surprize is the learned *Stanley*) I won't determine. Among others who ſeem to be led aſtray by this Scrap-retailing Hiſtorian, is the renown'd Mr. *Warburton*, whoſe great Sagacity I ſhall conſider in the following Notes.

[14] Diog. Laert. in vit. Socr.

of Reſentment or Anger; nay ſuch was the unparallell'd Good-nature of this godlike Man, that, ſome Strangers there being deſirous to ſee the Original of this ſcenic Picture, he roſe up in the middle of the Performance, ſtood all the reſt of the Time, and ſhew'd himſelf to the People; by which well-plac'd Confidence in his own Merit and Innocence, reminding them of thoſe Virtues and Wiſdom, ſo oppoſite to the *Sophiſt* in the Play, his pretended Likeneſs, he detected the falſe Circumſtances which were obtruded into his Character, and obviated the malicious Deſigns of the Poet, who having brought his Play a ſecond Time upon the Stage, met with the Contempt and Reproach he juſtly merited from ſuch a Compoſition [15].

Thus

[15] Mr. *Warburton* ſays, having, I ſuppoſe, great Faith in his old Friend *Ælian*, (whoſe palpable Blunders about this Comedy I have above detected) that *the Poet triumph'd*, which is contrary, not only to the Voice of all Antiquity, but to Probability and common Senſe. For as this Play was acted to *found* the People, if the Enemies of *Socrates* had had Succeſs therein, they would certainly have taken him to a Tryal immediately; whereas we find on the contrary, that three or four and twenty Years paſt between the Performance of this Comedy and his Condemnation. Nevertheleſs he brings the Νεφελαι as a conſpicuous Example of the pernicious Effects of the *Uſe* of Ridicule. His Words are theſe: "We have upon Record [Ded. to the Div. Leg.] the moſt "illuſtrious Example of this Contention that ever was, *viz.* "between Truth and Ridicule. The Diſpute I mean was "between *Socrates* and *Ariſtophanes*. Here Truth had all "the

Thus having turn'd the Edge of miſ-apply'd Ridicule upon the proper Object, the Character of a *Sophiſt*, he made his own real Wiſdom and Virtue conſpicuous to all, by having undergone and being Proof againſt the fiery Tryal of this ſearching Teſt of [16] Truth.

Scarce

" the Advantage of Place, of Weapons, and of Judges : " The firſt employ'd his whole Life in the Cauſe of Virtue ; " the other a few comic Scenes againſt it. But Heav'ns ! " againſt what Virtue? Againſt the pureſt and brighteſt Por- " tion of it that ever enlighten'd the Gentile World, *&c.* " For all this the comic Poet triumph'd, *&c.* and with the " coarſeſt kind of Buffoonry, little fitted, one would think, " to take ſo polite a People, had the Art to tarniſh all this " Virtue ; and what was more, to make the Owner reſemble " his direct Oppoſite, that Character he was moſt unlike, " that Character he moſt hated, that very Character he had " employed all his Wit to detect, lay open and confound ; " in one Word, the *Sophiſt*. The Conſequences are well " known." Well, what Conſequences are well known? none that make for his Argument, but very unfortunately for him, againſt it. For as I have already prov'd, the Poet (tho' he with all the Addreſs imaginable had prepared the People for a favorable Reception of his Piece by humoring their vulgar ſuperſtitious Prejudices, was ſupported by a Party, and, on the contrary to what Mr. *W.* aſſerts, had all the Advantage on his Side) was diſappointed in his Undertaking, and proved thereby the Truth of thoſe Virtues in *Socrates*, which he intended to deſtroy. Therefore I muſt continue to tell this learned Writer, that the Example he has here produc'd is a ſufficient Proof, that Ridicule can never affect Truth, and whatever ſuffers by the Uſe of it, muſt neceſſarily be falſe and deformed. For a farther Examination of this Point, ſee the next Note.

[16] Mr. *Warburton* (as well as all others who violently exclaim againſt Ridicule) points his Arguments againſt the *Miſuſe*, and not the *Uſe* of it. He brings another Example of

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Scarce was the Defeat at *Delium* recover'd, before the *Athenians* had another Occaſion

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the horrid and miſchievous Effects of Ridicule; which Example, like Artillery ill manag'd by an unſkilful Engineer, may be taken out of his Hands by an Enemy, and turn'd upon his own Argument: for inſtead of proving what he intended it ſhould do, *that Truth itſelf may be ſo diſguis'd as to be injur'd by Ridicule*, it is a plain Demonſtration, even from his own Words, of the contrary; and only ſerves to ſhew, that there have been Men diſhoneſt enough, to endeavor to bring into Contempt what was fair and good by the *Miſuſe* of Ridicule, and that all theſe Attempts in the End proved abortive. However let us bring him to a fair Tryal, and hear what he has to ſay for himſelf. "Very often (ſays he in the Ded. to the Div. Leg.) "the Change put upon us [he is here ſpeaking of obtruding falſe Circumſtances, *&c.* which is the *Miſuſe* of Ridicule] "is not ſo eaſily diſ-"cernible." Not eaſily! he ſeems to palliate and be willing to come round again by this qualifying Expreſſion; however I muſt beg leave humbly to aſſure him that nothing is *more eaſily diſcernible*. For not only all moral Philoſophers agree, but our Senſes hourly teach us, that there is implanted in human Nature an *internal Guide* to Truth, called the *moral Senſe*, which, undiſtemper'd, upon any Propoſition being offer'd to the Underſtanding, ſhews an inſtantaneous Diſguſt at what is falſe and deform'd, and as immediate a Satisfaction at what is good and beautiful, before Reaſon deſcends from the Throne of the Mind to give her infallible Approbation and Confirmation. But ſuch Arguments as theſe, our Author, I ſuppoſe, according to his uſual Manner when he cannot confute, will ſupercilioufly abuſe and call *Platonic Reaſoning*, *Academic Manners*, &c. Nevertheleſs he ſeems convinc'd of the Force of them, when, ſubjoining for once a well-applied Contempt of the paltry-talented *Scarron*, he ſays, "that the Buffoon did not ſee the Change "he had put upon himſelf, [in a notorious Miſuſe of Ridicule] but "perplex'd at the obſtinate Reſiſtance of Truth, "in the Conflict of his Ideas, imperceptibly turned the "Edge of his Raillery againſt the *Phantaſm* of it, and was "the firſt that fell into his own Deceit." The Caſe according

caſion to levy new Forces; for [17] *Braſidas* the *Lacedæmonian* General having paſſed into *Thrace* at the Head of an Army, he ſeduced many Cities from the Republic of *Athens*, and among the reſt *Amphipolis*, a Place of great Importance. *Socrates*, tho' he had ſo lately experienc'd the Danger of being

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cording to his own Relation is this: (Ded. to the Div. Leg.) "*Sulpicius* tells *Cicero*, that returning by Sea from *Aſia*, and "ſeeing in his Courſe *Ægina*, *Megara*, the *Piræus*, and "*Corinth* in Ruins, he fell into this very natural and human "Reflection: *And ſhall we, ſhort-liv'd Creatures as we are,* "*bear with Impatience the Death of our Fellows, when in* "*one ſingle View we behold the Carcaſes of ſo many late* "*flouriſhing Cities!* What could be juſter or wiſer than the "Piety of this Reflection? and yet it could not eſcape the "Ridicule of a celebrated *French* Buffoon: *If neither*, ſays "he, *the Pyramids of* Egypt, *nor the Coloſſeum at* Rome, "*could withſtand the Injury of Time, why ſhould I think* "*much that my black Waiſtcoat is out at Elbows?* Here he aſſerts, that the Juſtneſs and Wiſdom of this pious Reflection of *Sulpicius* could *not eſcape the Ridicule of a celebrated* French *Buffoon*; whereas the very Iſſue, nay he himſelf proves that *it did eſcape the Ridicule*, and that the falſe Glory, ſuch as the *Pyramids* of *Egypt* and the *Coloſſeum*, the *Phantaſm*, as he phraſes it, of the true, was the only thing affected by the Edge of his Raillery. If the *Uſe* of Ridicule ought to be laid aſide in ſerious Subjects, *becauſe* ſeveral have been diſhoneſt enough to *miſuſe* it, the ſame Argument will hold good alſo that the *Uſe* of *Reaſon* ſhould be denied, *becauſe* *Spinoſa*, *Hobbes*, and ſuch Wretches, have notoriouſly miſapply'd it. Indeed I ſhould not at all be ſurpriz'd to ſee in Time an elaborate prefatory Dedication, addreſs'd to thoſe who dare have the Aſſurance to *think at all*, written againſt the *Uſe* of Reaſon, by thoſe who have ſuch Cauſe to quarrel with it.

[17] Thucyd. lib. 4.

being absent, entered, as the City wanted Soldiers, into this third [18] military Expedition, which being attended with the same ill

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[18] *Socrates* never went out of *Attica*, but in these three military Expeditions, and once to the *Isthmian* Games, as we learn in *Plato*'s *Crito*, where *Socrates* speaking to himself, as it were in the Persons of the *Laws* of his Country, says, Και ουτ' επι θεωριαν πωποτε εκ της πολεως εξηλθες, οτι μη απαξ εις Ισθμον, ουτε αλλοσε ουδαμοσε, ει μη ποι στρατευσομενος· ουτε αλλην εποιησω αποδημιαν πωποτε, ωσπερ οι αλλοι ανθροοποι· ουδ' επιθυμια σε αλλης πολεως ουδ' αλλων νομων ελαβεν ειδεναι. P. 39. *Atheneus* cites a detach'd Part of this Passage, to prove that *Socrates* was never but once out of *Athens*, and pretends for that Reason, that all *Plato* has elsewhere said of his military Expeditions must necessarily be false. Εν δε τω Κριτωνι (says he) ο τη μνημοσυνη φιλος Πλατων, ουδε ποιησασθαι ποτε αποδημιαν τον Σωκρατην εξω της εις Ισθμον πορειας ειρηκε. Deipn. lib. 5. True, *Plato* does say so; but then he adds, ει μη ποι στρατευσομενος But *Atheneus* is guilty of a still greater Inaccuracy of Reading, concerning one of these military Expeditions; for, in order to invalidate the Testimonies of *Plato*, he affirms, (contrary to the Account of *Diodorus Siculus*, lib. 12. and *Thucydides*, the latter of which Authors was living at that Time) that there never was any Battle before the Siege of *Potidæa*, nay refers too to the very Passage in *Thucydides*, where that Historian gives an Account of the Action, as if he had wrote quite otherwise; ποιας δε ϗ μαχης γενομενης ελαβε τα αριστεια Σωκρατης, ϗ τι πραξας επιφανες ϗ δισημον καθολου, μαχης μηδημιας συμπεσουσης, ως ιστορηκε Θουκυδιδης: And again he has another Fling at *Plato*; ουκ αρκεσθεις δε ταυτη τη τερατολογια ο Πλατων επαγει ϗ την επι Δελιω γενομενην, μαλλον δε πεπλασμενην ανδραγαθιαν. Deipn. lib. 5. I am surpriz'd how this Mistake escap'd the learned *Casaubon*, who has taken notice of the former, but in this agrees with his Author: "Toto eo tempore (says he) nullum memorabile prælium fuisse commissum affirmat auctor, neque nos negamus." Isa. Casaub. anim. in Athen. c. 15.

ill Succeſs as the ſecond, he returned to *Athens*, where he continued till his Death, without ever removing out of the Diſtrict of the City [19],

Tho'

[19] *Suidas*, whoſe Head Monk-like being biaſſed too much by Superſtition frequently waddles obliquely to unneceſſary Nonſenſe, obſerves, that all the Notions contained in *Plato*, concerning a future State of Rewards and Puniſhments, were borrowed from the *Egyptians*, and intimates afterwards that they received them from the Writings of *Moſes*. From thence he would conclude, that the Light of Nature is inſufficient to lead us to ſuch important Truths, without ſupernatural Aſſiſtance immediately derived from above. This kind of Blaſphemy has been too long faſhionable. But what could *Suidas* himſelf ſay, or any modern *Suidas*, to this Inſtance of *Socrates?* who never did travel from the Place wherein he was born with a Deſign to be inſtructed in foreign Manners, never learnt the Laws or religious Secrets of other Countries, nor ever was initiated into the much-boaſted Myſteries in his own. [See below Book IV.] And yet we find from undoubted Evidence, that he had a clear Notion of the *Unity* of the DEITY, and a Retribution to Mankind after Death, of Rewards and Puniſhments proportioned to their reſpective Virtues and Vices. But however *Suidas* (as well as ſeveral Syſtem-ſhackled Writers among us) is as falſe in his Aſſertion as he would be in his Concluſion. But to give the old Monk fair Play, he ſhall ſpeak for himſelf. He ſays that *Plato* taught, τον μεν γὰρ δικαιως τον βιον διεληλυθοτα καὶ οσιως, επειδὰν τελευτήσῃ, εις μακαρων νησους οικειν εν πασῃ ευδαιμονια κακων εκτος. Τον δε ἀδικως καὶ ἀθεως εις τὸ κεισεως τε καὶ δικης δεσμωτηριον, ὁ δὴ ταρταρον καλουσιν (ſuppoſing it was adapted by Expreſſion to vulgar Underſtandings) ιεναι. Then comes the Sting; ταυτα δὲ εκ αιγυπτιων μεμαθηκε. Suid. in vit. Plat. And a little before ſpeaking of Things which muſt need *be above human Underſtanding*, he ſays, ταυτα εοικε σεσυληκεναι εκ των Ἑβραιων γεγραφων. I warrant many a wiſe Noddle has been ſhook with triumphant Pleaſure over this Paſſage; but unfortunately for *Suidas*, and ſuch Admirers, *Plato* wrote ſeveral

Tho' *Socrates* glow'd with this moſt ardent Love for his native Country in particular, yet he did not partially confine his Regard to *Athens*, but like the Miniſter and Servant of the GREAT PARENT of all, extended his benevolent Concern to Mankind in general; and being once aſk'd what Countryman he was, he reply'd with the greateſt Energy, [20] that he was a Citizen of the World. Which concluſive Apophthegm comprehended every tender Duty of Humanity, by implying that whatever our more immediate Reſpect may be, and indeed ought to be with proper Reſtrictions, firſt for our own Families, then Cities, Provinces, and Nations, according to that Love implanted in us by Nature, yet we ſhould ſtill extend our Affections with a proportionable Regulation to the whole Species, and conſider ourſelves (to carry on his Alluſion) Fellow-citizens of one great Commonwealth, whereof GOD is the impartial Governor, whoſe divine Laws are beſt obey'd, when we endeavor to promote one another's Happineſs

ral of his Dialogues before he ever went into *Egypt*, nay before the Death of his divine Maſter, which contain thoſe Doctrines. Therefore I am afraid his Aſſertion ſtands upon as bad a Foundation as his prieſtly Concluſion would do, was the Fact really true.

[20] Cicer. Tuſcul. Quæſt. lib. 5. "Mundanum inquit. "Totius enim mundi ſe incolam et civem arbitrabitur."

Happineſs by reciprocal Acts of Goodneſs, and mutual Aſſiſtance, the Need of which he has ordain'd, by his unerring Legiſlation, ſhould be an irrefragable Chain to link all Societies together.

He now continued to proſecute with greater Ardor than ever the Work he had ſo ſucceſsfully begun, entering into all Places of public Reſort, and enriching the Hearts of his Audience with the ineſtimable Treaſure of moral Science. In this Employment he was frequently expos'd at firſt, on Account of ſome Geſtures the Heat of Action cauſed, to the Inſults of the ignorant Populace, which gave him many Opportunities to prove himſelf the worthy Example of his own divine Precepts [21]. Being thus early habituated to Patience, he fortified his Soul againſt the ſharpeſt Attacks of a domeſtic Fury, and retain'd the uſual Tranquillity of his Mind, as will hereafter be obſerv'd, in the moſt violent Storms of public and private ill Treatment; for ſuch was his Benevolence, that he never return'd Evil for Evil, having thro' the whole Courſe of his Life, as he declar'd himſelf appealing to thoſe who knew the Truth of his Aſſertion [22], never hurt any Man, but endeavored

[21] Diog. Laert.
[22] Xen. Mem. lib. 4.

vored to make the whole Species his Friends by every Act of Humanity. Nor did this Patience and his remarkable Temperance in every Reſpect proceed from a conſtitutional Coldneſs, or any Apathy in his Diſpoſition, (which is frequently, in Men of phlegmatic Complexions, confounded by the unthinking Vulgar with real Goodneſs) but from the ſelf-governing Precepts of the moſt divine Philoſophy; for his Courage and unalterable Reſolution he made conſpicuous upon all laudable Occaſions; and as to his Propenſity not only to enervating Pleaſures but even actual Vices, he ingenuouſly confeſs'd it to a Circle of his Diſciples, who laugh'd at the famous Phyſiognomiſt *Zopyrus* as a Cheat, for declaring after he had view'd the Lineaments of his Face, that he was a Fellow of the moſt vicious Inclinations: "I am, ſaid he, prone to "Vice as this Man ſays, but I correct ſuch "irregular Inclinations by Philoſophy [23]."

The divine Science of Moral Philoſophy began now to prevail over thoſe [24] uſeleſs Reſearches

[23] "De *Socrate* dicitur, Cum multa in conventu vitia "collegiſſet in eum *Zopyrus*, qui ſe naturam ejuſque ex forma "perſpicere profitebatur, deriſus eſt a ceteris, qui illa in "*Socrate* vitia non agnoſcerent: ab ipſo autem *Socrate* ſub"levatus eſt, cum illa ſibi vitia ineſſe, ſed ratione a ſe de"jecta, diceret." Cic. Tuſc. Quæſt. lib. 5.

[24] The Author does not mean to decry the Study of Phyſics in general, which properly employed, no doubt, is of

Reſearches of the Study of Phyſics, and aerial Speculations of an abſurd Theology. On this Account the Prieſts and Sophiſts finding their gainful Trades decreaſe, purſued *Socrates* with a Malice proportioned to the Credit he bore among the beſt of the People. Theſe ſacerdotal and literary Locuſts had, among other Arts to divert the Attention of Mankind from the Knowledge of Truth, conſtantly amuſed their Minds with Enquiries into the inexplicable [25] Laws of Nature, where the human Underſtanding, being plung'd into an unfathomable Deep, could never emerge into the Light of Reaſon.

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of great Service to Mankind, but only thoſe uſeleſs Reſearches, as they are here term'd, in Contradiſtinction to other Parts of Natural Philoſophy, which too often engage, even at this Day, the miſapply'd Hours of ſeveral ſoberly diſpoſed Modern Philoſophers.

[25] *Sprat* in his fuſtian Hiſtory of the Royal Society (which equal with their Taſte in every other Kind of Writing, was eſteemed ſo excellent a Compoſition by the Metaphor-hunting Mob of ſilly Withings in *Charles* the Second's Reign) being not contented with giving the Superiority to Natural Philoſophy over Moral, tells us, in Compliment, I ſuppoſe, to the prevailing Faſhion of the Times, which could ill have ſtood the Examination of Reaſon, that the latter *only ſerved to ſwell up the Soul*, &c. Sprat's Hiſt. of the R. Soc. The Epiſcopal Courtier, like the *Grecian* Prieſts and *Sophiſts*, knew that this Philoſophy would have detected the Rottenneſs of the Age, and therefore dreſs'd up a Rival more agreeable to the depraved Taſte of his Contemporaries, in all the affected Pride of tawdry Language.

Socrates neither discompos'd by their Calumnies, nor intimidated by their Menaces, employ'd his whole Time in the Cultivation of his own Heart and those of his Followers; confining his Contemplations altogether [26] *to what was pious, what impious; what just, what unjust; in which those that were learn'd he esteemed* good and beautiful [27], *but those that were ignorant he thought might justly be called Slaves.*

Being

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[26] Αυτος δε περι των ανθρωπινων αει διελεγετο, σκοπων τι ευσεβες, τι ασεβες· τι δικαιον τι αδικον, &c. &c. α τους μεν ειδοτας ηγειτο καλους τε και αγαθους ειναι, τους δε αγνοουντας ανδραποδωδεις αν δικαιως κεκλησθαι. Xen. Mem. lib. 1.

[27] This Analogy between the Perfection in Nature and that in Morals, *Socrates* constantly had in View in all his Discourses, which his Disciples express'd in the compound Word καλοκαγαθια, for a proper Regulation of our Passions, or an exact Performance of those Duties which are required from the respective Station of Life we act in, to Society, answers in the Moral World to that Symmetry and Proportion which is constituted by the Agreement of particular Parts in the Natural; so that GOOD and BEAUTY may be used indiscriminately as a proper Expression for Excellence in either. Thus in *Xenophon*'s Memoirs, *Socrates* more particularly dwells upon this Alliance: Συ δε οιει, εφη, αμα μεν αγαθον αμα δε καλον ειναι τι οιδ', οτι προς ταυτα παντα καλα δε και αγαθα εστι; πρωτον μεν γε η αρετη και προς αμα μεν αγαθον, προς αμα δε καλον εστιν· επειτα οι ανθρωποι το αυτο τε και προς τα αυτα καλοι καγαθοι λεγονται· προς τα αυτα δηπου τα σωματα των ανθρωπων καλα τε και αγαθα φαινεται προς ταυτα δε και τ'αλλα παντα οις ανθρωποι χρωνται καλα τε και αγαθα νομιζεται, προς απερ αν ευχρηστα η. Xen. Mem. lib. 3. From this true Relish of the Soul, this harmonious Association of Ideas, the

Being thus accuſtomed to the *good* and *beautiful* in Morals, he was led by an amicable Intercourſe of Ideas, to look upon the Comelineſs of a handſome Perſon as the external Mark of inward Goodneſs, which made itſelf thus viſible to the Sight by the correſpondent Features of an amiable Countenance [28]. He therefore gave the Prefe-

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the ancient Philoſophers, and their Diſciples among the Moderns, have enliven'd their Writings by illuſtrating their Obſervation upon the Conduct of Life, by Epithets drawn from the external Scenes of the Creation. So that by a *beautiful Action*, is meant the generous Reſignation of private Advantage by ſome Individual, to ſubmit or adapt his ſingle Being to the whole Community, or any Part of it he belongs to. Many modern Cavils have been made againſt this Stile, but by ſuch (as *Cornelius Nepos* obſerves upon ſome Cavillers in his Time) *qui expertes Græcarum literarum, nihil rectum, niſi quod ipſorum moribus conveniat, putant.* In Præf. Such *ſimple-minded* Gentlemen I leave to their own profound Sagacity, to divide *Good* from *Beauty* at their Leiſure.

[28] *Maximus Tyrius* thus elegantly deſcribes *Socrates*'s virtuous and rational Love of *Alcibiades*, and others of his Diſciples, in Contradiſtinction to that unnatural Paſſion with which the Ancients too often diſgraced their Species: Τω δε Σωκρατει ο ερως ην κατ' μεν την αποδην τοις ἐμοις ομοιος κατ' δε την επιθυμιαν διαφερων, κατ' δε την ηδονην σωφρονεστερος· κατ' δε την αρετην ευστοχωτερος· αρχη δε αυτου, ψυχης ανθος εν σωματι διαφαινομενον.——Σωματων ωρα ουδε ἐμο εστιν, η μελλουσης αρετης ανθος, καὶ οιονει προοιμιον καλλους ωραιοτερου. Diſſert. 9. *Plutarch* ſays, *Socrates* was wont to tell young Men, that they ſhould often regard themſelves in a Looking-glaſs; that if they found themſelves beautiful, they ſhould take care not to ſtain that Beauty by Vice; and if deform'd, they ſhould endeavor to cover their perſonal Imperfections by Virtue. See alſo Diog. Laert. in the Life of *Socr.*

rence to those Youths who were the most beautiful, but above all to *Alcibiades*, whom he pursued with the most indefatigable Industry, to prevent him falling into those destructive Pleasures, to which he was too much subjected by the Easiness of his Temper, and uncommon Warmth of his Constitution [29]. But for all this constant Attendance on that much celebrated Nobleman [30], none ever accused him of having any

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[29] There was an Institution of *Solon*'s at *Athens*, which was afterwards copied by all the States of *Greece*, that every Man of experienced Wisdom and Probity should take Youths under his Care, and after having gain'd their virtuous Affections, to educate them in the Principles of Justice, Honor and Fortitude. A remarkable Instance of the mutual Friendship that subsisted between some Youths and their Instructors, was shewn in the *Theban ἱερὸς φάλαγξ* at the famous Battle of *Chæroneas* where a Body of three hundred were killed fighting by one another's Side. *Philip* King of *Macedon* seeing them lie dead together, said weeping, *Curs'd be they who suspect that these Men could either do or suffer any thing base*. Plut. in vit. Pelop. A generous Testimony in an Enemy of that Bravery, which was so nobly supported by virtuous Friendship! So much was this Education thought necessary among the *Greeks*, that, as *Tully* observes, *apud eos opprobrio fuit adolescentibus, si amatores non haberent*. De Rep. lib. 4. For *amatores* there signifies those Instructors as I have explain'd above.

[30] Monsr. *Charpentier* is greatly mistaken when he says, "Ses ennimies se sont servis de cette apparence, pour l'accuser de corrompre la jeunesse." Who were these Enemies? none at that Time as ever I read of. "Et ceux (adds he) "qui n'ont pas aimés sa memoire, les ont crus assez mal "a propos." That I grant there were some in After-ages who were willing to calumniate him on this account thro' Malice,

any unnatural Affection; for what is ſaid of corrupting Youths in the Accuſation laid by *Melitus* afterwards, was meant in another Senſe, that is to ſay, their political and religious Principles, for he is allow'd on all Hands to be free from the leaſt Suſpicion of that moſt deteſtable Sin; nay even [31] *Ariſtophanes* never ſo much as once hints at it, which he certainly would not have fail'd to have done, had there been the ſmalleſt Ground for ſuch an Inſinuation. [32] *Porphyry*, who

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Malice, or ignorantly aſpers'd him, for want of conſidering the Cuſtoms of *Greece*. But as this ingenious *French* Gentleman rightly obſerves, "Qui pourroit en douter apres ſes "ſeveres reprimendes qu'il fait a *Critias* et *Critobule*, au "primier livre des choſes memorables? Qui pourroit en "douter apres ce qui ſe dit ſur la fin du banquet de *Platon*, "par la bouche meme de *Alcibiade*?" Dans la vie Socr. I muſt here take notice, that the tenth Line of the ſecond Satire of *Juvenal*,

Inter Socraticos *notiſſima foſſa cinædos*,

is certainly, as ſeveral Commentators have obſerv'd, a falſe Reading, which was occaſion'd, I ſuppoſe, by the Miſtake of ſome illiterate Tranſcriber, who having heard of *Socrates*'s Eſteem for *Alcibiades*, which perhaps was turn'd to his Diſcredit at that Time, and never having met with the Story of *Sotades*, that infamous Pæderaſte the *Cretan* Poet, from whoſe Name this Epithet is borrowed by *Juvenal*, he chang'd *Sotadicos* for *Socraticos*.

[31] Ουδε Αριστοφανης τα Σωκρατους εν Διονυσιοις κωμωδων ο δεινοτατος των κατηγορων, ελοιδορησατο τω ερωτι του Σωκρατους. Maxim. Tyr. Diſſ. 8.

[32] It may at firſt ſight ſeem ſtrange, that *Porphyry* a *Platoniſt* ſhould vilify the Character of *Socrates*; but if we regard the Hiſtory of the Man and the Times, the Wonder will eaſily be clear'd up. This Writer liv'd about the End

was more inveterate against him than the bitterest of his Contemporaries, and who borrowed most part of his Invectives from [33] *Aristoxenus*, *Aristotle*'s Disciple, a professed Enemy of the *Academy*, never so much as doubted of the Innocency of *Socrates* in this Respect with the Youths who frequented his Discourses. The Silence therefore of such implacable Enemies concerning so atrocious a Crime, must necessarily acquit him without farther Testimony. Whilst

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of the third Century. He was educated under *Plotinus* and *Amelius*; but after the Death of the former he turned *Christian*, and according to the Custom of the charitable Writers in that and the succeeding Centuries, who thought that they serv'd the Cause of Religion when they blasphem'd their Maker by depreciating human Reason, he courteously fell into the Fashion, and among the Lives of other Philosophers, which he wrote during his Stay in the Church, he selected out that of *Socrates* to spend his Gall on; but not meeting with the Encouragement he expected, he apostatiz'd, and wrote fifteen Books against the Truth of the *Christian* Religion.

[33] 'Tis no wonder a Man of *Aristoxenus*'s Disposition should calumniate *Socrates*; for he even abused his own Master and greatest Friend *Aristotle* after he was dead, because he nominated *Theophrastus* for his Successor in the School. We have the following mangled Account of this Counter Philosopher in *Suidas*: Αριστοξενος υιος Μνησιου, ακοστης του τε πατρος καὶ Λαμπρου του ερυθραιου, ειτα Ξενοφιλου του Πυθαγορειου, καὶ τελος Αριστοτελους, εις ον αποθανοντα υβρισε, διοτι καταλιπετης σχολης διαδοχον Θεοφραστον, αυτου δοξαν μεγαλην εν τοις ακροαταις του Αριστοτελους εχοντος. How a Man of such an envious, malignant, ungrateful Temper can be relied upon, I leave the impartial Reader to judge.

Whilſt *Socrates* was engaged in this God-like Office of weeding out Vice from the Hearts of Mankind, in whatever Shape it appeared, ere it had taken too deep a Root; he found nothing was ſo great a Bane to growing Virtue, nothing ſo great an Obſtruction to heroic Purſuits, and fair Deſires, as that pleaſurable Indolence to which the Breaſts of Youths are too much inclin'd. He conſider'd *Pleaſure* as a *Syren*, which deluded thoſe who liſten'd to her Lore into a voluntary Deſtruction; that however for a while ſhe might ſeem lovely by her enchanting Smiles to the deceived Senſes, ſhe was always in the End the deformed Miniſtreſs of *Diſeaſe*, *Infamy*, and *Woe*; but that *Virtue* never fail'd to lead her Votaries to Happineſs, thro' the Paths of honorable Toil and Induſtry. Theſe moral Truths he inculcated with the moſt lively Deſcriptions, and Ambition-exciting Examples; for unadorned Precepts have been known to avail little, when the pious Fraud of a well-told Fable has imperceptibly led Men into a Purſuit of their Duty. In a Converſation with his libertine Diſciple *Ariſtippus*, a profeſs'd Votary of *Pleaſure*, who ſpent, or more properly ſuffered his ſilken Hours in the moſt Heart-enfeebling Recreations, when he had argumentatively proved the ſuperior Excellence of Virtue, he concluded his Exhortations to the Purſuit of it with this beautiful

Fable, where *Virtue* is perſonaliz'd, and brought into a Conteſt with her *mental* Antagoniſt. " *Prodicus*, ſays he, (for the Fiction is attributed to him) " in his Book about " *Hercules*, ſays, that that Hero, as he was " juſt arriv'd at the State of Maturity, (when " Youths becoming free to act for themſelves, diſcover their Propenſity either to " good or bad, and indicate what may be " expected from their future Conduct) being " retired into a ſolitary Place, and contemplating on what Courſe of Life to purſue, " two Women of an uncommon Stature " approach'd him. The one of a liberal " and amiable Aſpect, whoſe Body was " adorn'd with natural Comelineſs, her Eyes " with Modeſty, and her Geſture with " Decency; whoſe Raiment was all of " White: The other ſeem'd pamper'd by " Eaſe and Luxury into an unbecoming " Size and Softneſs; ſhe had painted her " Complexion to make it look more beautiful, and affected a Form more graceful than what was given her by Nature; " her Eyes were full of Confidence, and " her Dreſs tranſparent, that the conceited Beauty of her Perſon might appear " through it to Advantage; ſhe ſeem'd " often to contemplate upon her own " Perfections, ſhe watch'd to ſee if others " regarded them too, and would frequently look back upon her own Shadow,

" When

" When they were both come nearer to " *Hercules*, the firſt deſcrib'd continued " her uſual Pace; but the other being de- " ſirous to ſpeak firſt, ran eagerly up, and " addreſſed herſelf to him in the following " Manner: " I perceive, my dear *Hercules*, " that you are in doubt what Courſe of " Life to purſue; if you will contract a " Friendſhip with me, I will lead you " thro' the moſt pleaſurable and eaſy Road, " where you ſhall taſte all the Sweets of " Life, and live exempt from every Trou- " ble. In the firſt place, you ſhall neither " be concern'd in War, nor in the Affairs " of the World, nor have any other Em- " ployment, but to find out whatever is " moſt delicious to gratify all the Senſes; " to chuſe what Amours are moſt delight- " ful to you, how you may repoſe with " the greateſt Tranquility, and how you " may come to the Poſſeſſion of all with " the leaſt Fatigue. Nor be in the leaſt " afraid, if at any time there ſhould be a " Chance of a Deficiency of theſe Things, " that I will exerciſe the Faculties of your " Mind and Body in tedious Labors to " acquire them; for you ſhall freely enjoy " all from the Work of others, nor abſtain " from any thing which can be delightful: " for I put it in the Power of my Vo- " taries, to partake of every Satisfaction the " World affords." When *Hercules* had

" heard

" heard the Concluſion of this Harangue, " he aſk'd what was the Name ſhe went " by; to which ſhe reply'd, " My Friends " and Votaries call me *Happineſs*, but mine " Enemies caluminate me with the Name " of *Volupia* [34]." In the mean time the " other Woman approached, and in her " Turn accoſted him in this manner: " I " come too, O *Hercules*, to offer my Aſ- " ſiſtance, I who am well acquainted with " your divine Extraction, and have ob- " ſerved the Excellence of your Nature " even from your Childhood; from which " I have Reaſon to hope, that, if you " will follow the Path which leads to my " Reſidence, you'll undertake the greateſt " Enterprizes, and atchieve the moſt glo- " rious Actions, and that I ſhall thereby " become more honorable and illuſtr;ous " among Mortals. However I won't de- " lude you with flattering Proems of what " only is agreeable, but inform you with " the ſtricteſt Truth, how the *Gods* have " diſpoſed theſe Things. The *Gods* have " ordained that Mankind ſhould not enjoy " any thing that is good and honorable " without

[34] As the Word Κακία in this Place is relative, the Author thought a literal Tranſlation would be defective, and the common ones inexpreſſive; he therefore choſe this Word, as more comprehenſive of *Xenophon*'s Meaning.

" without Care and Labor; therefore if " you are willing that they ſhould be pro- " pitious to you, 'tis your Intereſt to wor- " ſhip and obey them, in like manner as " you would do every Act of Kindneſs for " your Friends, if you are deſirous they " ſhould love you; or, as you would be " uſeful to any City from whence you are " ambitious of receiving Honors. So if " you wiſh to be highly reſpected thro' all " *Greece* on account of your Virtues, you " ſhould endeavor to atchieve ſomething " for the Good of the whole Community. " If you deſire to gather plentifully the " Fruits of the Earth, the Soil muſt be " cultivated accordingly; would you grow " rich by your Herds? a proper Care muſt " be taken of them; would you extend " your Dominions by Arms, and be ren- " dered capable of ſetting at Liberty your " captive Friends, and bringing your Ene- " mies to Subjection? you muſt learn of " thoſe that are experienced in the Art " of War, and exerciſe yourſelf in the Uſe " of military Affairs; and if you would " excel in the Strength of your Body, you " ought to habituate your Limbs to Toil, " and all Sorts of Gymnaſtic Perfor- " mances." Then *Volupia* interrupting (as " *Prodicus* tells the Story) cry'd out, " Do " you ſee, my dear *Hercules*, thro' what " long and difficult Ways this Woman

" would lead you to her promiſed De-
" lights, but I will conduct you thro' one,
" which is ſhort and pleaſant, to the moſt
" exquiſite Happineſs." To which *Virtue*
" reply'd, " Alas! poor Wretch, what Good
" haſt thou to boaſt of? or what Happineſs
" knoweſt thou, who doſt nothing to ac-
" quire it? thou, who doſt not wait for
" an Appetite to thoſe Things which are
" pleaſant, but art ſatiated with all before
" thou haſt a Deſire to partake of any;
" who eateſt unexcited by Hunger, and
" drinkeſt uncompelled by Thirſt; and
" that thou mayeſt ſatisfy thy Palate more
" deliciouſly, thou procureſt the moſt able
" Banquet-mongers to prepare thy Viands,
" purchaſeſt the moſt coſtly Wine, and
" ſearcheſt every Place for Ice and Snow,
" luxuriouſly to cool it in the Heat of
" the Summer. Thou art not ſatisfy'd to
" reſt upon Beds of Down, but prepareſt
" the ſofteſt Couches and Pillows to ſooth
" thy pleaſurable Repoſe; for thou ſleep-
" eſt, not becauſe the Body requires Re-
" freſhment from Fatigue, but becauſe
" thou haſt nothing elſe to do but to doze
" away thy vacant Hours. Thou exciteſt
" by forcible Means venereal Deſires, and
" gratifyeſt them in the moſt beaſtly and
" unnatural Embraces. Thou teacheſt thy
" Votaries to paſs the Night in ſcandalous
" Riots, and to ſnore away the moſt uſe-
" ful

" ful Part of the Day in drowſy Inacti-
" vity. Tho' immortal, thou art an Out-
" caſt from the *Gods*, and deſpis'd by the
" good among Mortals. Thou never haſt
" partook of the moſt agreeable of Sounds,
" that of hearing thyſelf commended; nor
" ſeen the moſt delightful of Objects, thy
" own good Works; for thou never haſt
" done ought to claim that Appellation.
" Who can believe any thing thou ſay'ſt?
" who would aſſiſt thee in Neceſſity? or
" would any one in his Senſes dare to
" enter into thy Society? Thoſe that are
" ſo unhappy to belong to thee, are de-
" bilitated in their Bodies whilſt they are
" young, and in the Faculties of their
" Soul when they are old; their Youth
" having been diſſipated in an unmanly
" Indolence, their Age is over-burthen'd
" with a wretched Uneaſineſs and Trou-
" ble. They are aſham'd of their paſt
" Actions, and afflicted with their preſent;
" having wantonly conſumed all the Sweets
" of Life in the Beginning of it, and re-
" ſerv'd nought but Miſery for the latter
" End. But I, on the contrary, keep
" Company with the *Gods*, and am con-
" ſtantly preſent with all good Men; no
" fair Action, either divine or human, is
" atchieved without me. I am honor'd
" by thoſe that know me both among *Gods*

" and

" and Men above all Things. To Artiſts
" I am the much-belov'd Aſſociate in their
" Profeſſions; to Maſters of Families, a
" faithful Guardian in their Houſes; to
" Servants, a kind Protectreſs. I am a
" happy Aſſiſtant in Affairs of Peace, a
" ſteady Ally in the Dangers of War, and
" the beſt Companion to all public and
" private Friendſhips. My Votaries too
" have as pleaſing Enjoyments in their
" Repaſts, for they wait till Appetite urges
" them to ſatisfy their Hunger and Thirſt.
" Their Sleep is much ſweeter than the
" Sleep of the Indolent; and yet they
" neither regret to leave it, nor, for the
" ſake of it, omit the neceſſary Duties of
" Life. Whilſt young, they are encou-
" raged by the Praiſes of the Aged; and
" when old, pleaſed with the Honors paid
" them by Youth. They retain a ſatiſ-
" factory Remembrance of paſt Actions,
" and enjoy the Practice of the preſent;
" for they are upon my Account dear to
" the *Gods*, beloved by their Friends, and
" highly honor'd by their Country; and
" when the deſtin'd End of Life approach-
" es, their Names are not diſhonorably
" caſt into Oblivion, but flouriſh for ever
" in the Memory of applauding Poſterity.
" Thus, *Hercules*, O great Deſcendent of
" divine Anceſtors, thou may'ſt by virtu-
" ous

" ous Toil and Induſtry acquire this moſt
" deſireable State of perfect Happineſs [35]."

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[35] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 2. This Fable has been a Model for ſeveral beautiful Imitations, particularly *Cebes*'s *Table of human Life*, and the Judgment of *Scipio* in the fifteenth Book of *Silius Italicus*. See the Poem upon this Subject in Mr. *Spence*'s *Polymetis*.

The End of the SECOND BOOK.

THE

L. P. Boitard Inv.t et Sculp.

THE LIFE OF SOCRATES.

BOOK III.

SOCRATES was now arrived at the Pinnacle of all rational Ambition; he had borne Arms with immortal Honor to himſelf in the Service of his Country, even in Expeditions where his Country was unſucceſsful; the Innocence of his Heart had fruſtrated the Malice of his own Enemies, and the Clearneſs of his Mind had defeated the Enemies of the human Under-

derſtanding [1]. He was a living Reproof to the Bad, and a copy'd Delight of the Good; the Wiſeſt rever'd him, the moſt Powerful honor'd him, and the Richeſt grew poor in their own Imagination, when they obſerv'd how he abounded in what Wealth [2] could never beſtow, amidſt voluntary Poverty. He was even ador'd by ſome, careſs'd by many, and admir'd by all Men. Yet even thus elevated above the common Lot of Humanity, the leaſt Tincture of Avarice or Pride could never gain Admittance to his Breaſt;

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[1] He had confounded the Sophiſts in ſeveral Diſputes, as we find in *Plato*, particularly in thoſe Dialogues entitled, the *Sophiſt*, *Euthydemus*, *Gorgias*, *Hippias*, and *Protagoras*.

[2] *Apuleius* giving a beautiful Summary of what alone ought to be eſteemed among Men, brings this Inſtance of *Socrates*, who though poor was Poſſeſſor of all Things which could properly be called good. "In hominibus contemplandis noli aliena æſtimare, ſed ipſum hominem penitus conſidera, ipſum ut meum *Socratem* ſpecta. Aliena autem voco quæ parentes pepererunt, et quæ fortuna largita eſt. Quorum nihil laudibus *Socrates* mei admiſceo; nullam generoſitatem, nullam proſapiam, nullos longos natales, nullas invidioſas divitias. Hæc enim cuncta ut dico, aliena ſunt. Generoſus eſt? parentes laudas. Dives eſt? non credo fortunæ. Validus eſt? ægritudine fatigabitur. Pernix eſt? abibit in ſenectutem. Formoſus eſt? expecta pauliſper, et non erit. At enim bonis artibus doctus et apprime eſt eruditus, et quantum licet homini ſapiens, et boni conſultus, tandem aliquando ipſum virum laudas. Hoc enim non a patre hereditarium eſt, nec caſu pendulum, nec a ſuffragio anniculum, nec a corpore caducum, nec ab ætate mutabile, hæc omnia meus *Socrates* habuit, et cetera contempſit." Apul. de deo Socr.

Breaſt; for he neither would accept of any [3] lucrative Employment in the State, nor the frequently-offer'd Preſents of his Diſciples [4]; and on the other hand, when thro' the Indigence of his Circumſtances he wanted the Neceſſaries of Life, he did not diſdain, like a ſurly *Cynic*, to give his Friends an Opportunity of ſupplying thoſe Wants, by freely communicating his Diſtreſſes to them. Nor above all, did the Superiority of his Underſtanding inſpire him with that Arrogance, too commonly found among thoſe on whom Heaven has beſtowed its choiceſt Bleſſings. For when the Oracle [5] of *Apollo* had declared him the

[3] Plat. Apol. p. 25.

[4] Ælian. var. hiſt. lib. 9. cap. 29. Diog. Laert. in vit. Socr. Senec. de benef. lib. 5. c. 6. Stob. ſerm. 3.

[5] 'Twill be aſked how the Prieſteſs came to declare *Socrates* the wiſeſt of all Mankind, when he was ſo great an Enemy to the Impoſtures of the Prieſthood. The Story, as related in *Plato*'s Apology p. 16. runs thus: *Chærephon*, a zealous Friend and Diſciple of *Socrates*, being at *Delphi*, enquired of the Oracle whether there was any Man upon Earth wiſer than he was. The Reply was, No, not one. An Anſwer of this ſort, no doubt, from an Oracle of the higheſt Repute in all *Greece*, muſt neceſſarily give great Credit, and conſequently Power, to *Socrates*; which at firſt Appearance would ſeem very impolitic in the Prieſts to do, when that very Power would be exerted againſt themſelves. But if we ſearch more narrowly into the Cauſe of this Proceeding, we ſhall find that the Deſign was very artful. They had hitherto engag'd all the Poets and Philoſophers in their Service, by beſtowing Employments both in the State and in the Temple upon them: but when they found all ſuch Temptations

wiſeſt Man upon Earth, he thus modeſtly interpreted the Meaning: "The Reaſon "why I was thus mentioned, ſaid he, was "to propoſe my Name as an Example; as "if the Oracle had ſaid, he is the wiſeſt "Man, who, like *Socrates*, diſclaims all "Wiſdom [6]."

Thus notwithſtanding this Oracular Applauſe of his Wiſdom, notwithſtanding Multitudes followed him for Inſtruction, he invariably perſiſted in denying he knew any thing, and always had this Expreſſion in

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tations ineffectually exerted in regard to *Socrates*, they had recourſe to Flattery, which has prevail'd even againſt the beſt and wiſeſt, when every other Method has been abortive. But finding this Scheme as unſucceſsful as all others to ſeduce him, and not being able to recant what was once declared from the Tripod, they perſecuted him to his Grave under the coercive Laws of eſtabliſh'd Error, with all the holy Malignancy of miſplac'd Zeal. Monſieur *Charpentier* abſurdly imagines, that the Managers of the Oracle had a real Eſteem for *Socrates*. He gravely ſays: "Des qualities ſi "extraordinaires furent cauſes que l' Oracle d' *Apollon* pro- "nonca, que *Socrate* etoit le plus ſage de toutes les hommes, "et par ce glorieux temoignage ſembla rendre a ſa vertu "l' honneur qu'elle pouvoit meriter." Dans la vie de Socr.

[6] *Tully* ſpeaking of his great Modeſty ſays: "Hic in "omnibus fere ſermonibus qui ab iis, qui illum audierunt, "perſcripti varie et copioſe ſunt, ita diſputat ut nihil affirmet "ipſe, refellat alios, nihil ſe ſcire dicat id ipſum: eoque "præſtare cæteris, quod illi, quæ neſciant ſcire ſe putent, "ipſe ſe nihil ſcire, id unum ſciat, ab eamque rem ſe arbi- "trari ab *Apolline* omnium ſapientiſſimum eſſe dictum quod "hæc eſſet una hominis ſapientia, non arbitrari ſe ſcire quod "neſciat." Acad. quæſt. lib. 1.

in his Mouth, that he was ſure only he knew one Thing, which was that he knew nothing. He ſpoke in this manner to confound the Pride of thoſe, who boaſted they were Maſters of thoſe Sciences they were intirely ignorant of, and which it was impoſſible for the human Underſtanding to acquire. But ſhould any one infer from hence, that *Socrates* was willing to introduce Uncertainty into all manner of Queſtions in the Reach of our Comprehenſions, and ſuch as the great Creator intended as a proper Exerciſe for the Faculties of our Minds; ſhould any one pretend that this great Diſcoverer of Truth deny'd an abſolute Knowledge of the Exiſtence of a God, his invariable Laws of Right and Wrong, of the determined Bounds of Juſtice and Injuſtice, of the moral Neceſſity of the Rewards of Virtue, and the ſelf-inflicted Puniſhments on Vice, and of all the eternally-fix'd and immutable Rules that regard the Happineſs of Man as a free Agent, ſhould any one, I ſay, abſurdly and ſtubbornly draw from hence ſuch falſe Inferences, he would either prove himſelf altogether ignorant of the Tenets of this divine Philoſopher and his Followers, or a

[7] Plat in Apol. Diog. in vit. Socr.

System-blinded Diſputant on Words, whoſe Implication he is determined to pervert to the Uſe of his own bigot-beſotted Opinions [8].

But

[8] The Author of *the Divine Legation of Moſes*, having taken it into his Head to look with a retroſpective Frown of Jealouſy on the ancient Sages of *Academus*, has thought it highly incumbent upon him on all Occaſions to rake into the Aſhes of theſe illuſtrious Dead, who were a juſtly-eſteem'd Glory and Honor to our Species. Being therefore, according to his uſual Charity, about to calumniate the Virtue and Knowledge of theſe Godlike Men, he makes a bungling Conveyance upon the Reader, and in the following Words ſhews the middle *Academics* for the firſt, and the Principles of *Arceſilas* for thoſe of *Plato*. "This, ſays he, I take "to be the true Key to the Intrigues of the *Academy*, [vide "Div. Leg. p. 354.] of which famous Sect many have "been betray'd into a better Opinion than was fitting; if "any Doubt remain, the Account *Tully* himſelf gives of "theſe People, will remove it. He who knew them beſt, "and eſpouſed only the more reaſonable Part of their Con-"duct, tells us, that they held nothing could be known, or "ſo much as perceived." Now would not any Man expect a Citation from *Tully*, to prove that the original Diſciples of *Socrates* contradicted every thing, and indiſcriminately deny'd the Knowledge or Perception of any thing whatſoever? No, 'tis quite a foreign Affair; he gives us a Citation from the *Academic* Queſtions, to prove what was the Conduct of the ſceptical Followers of *Arceſilas:* "Nihil cognoſci, nihil "percipi, nihil ſciri poſſe dixerunt.———Itaque *Arceſilas* "negabat eſſe quidquam quod ſciri poſſet, ne illud quidem "ipſum." This is Scepticiſm with a Vengeance! He afterwards ſubjoins in a Note *Lucian*'s Opinion of *the ſame People*, who he informs us knew them as well as any Body. "This "Writer, adds he, when he ſpeaks of the happy Iſland *in* "*his true Hiſtory*, tells us how it was ſtock'd with the ſeve-"ral Sects of *Greek* Philoſophers. But when he comes to "the *Academics*, he with high Honor informs us, that tho' "they were in as good a Diſpoſition to come as any of the "reſt,

But above all Things, *Socrates* was most averse to assuming the Air or Name of a Preceptor. Thus when *Demonicus* [9] an *Athenian* brought his Son *Theages* to be instructed in Wisdom, after having rallied

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" rest, they still kept aloof in the Confines, and would never " venture to set a Foot on the Island. For here truly they " stuck; they were not yet satisfy'd whether it was indeed " an Island or no; τυς δε Ακαδημαικυς ελεγον εθελειν " μεν ελθειν, επεχειν δ'ετι, ϗ διασκεπτεσθαι· μη δε γε " αυτο τυτο πως καταλαμβανειν ει ϗ Νησος τις τοιαυτη " εςιν." Ver. Hist. lib. 2. And who were those *Academics* so prone ΔΙΑΣΚΕΠΤΕΣΘΑΙ? Why truly those who liv'd in the Time of *Lucian*. And here lies the Juggle in the Word *Academics*, by indiscriminately confounding the three different Schools under that general Denomination. I am afraid therefore this great Mystagogue, who has found *a Key to the Intrigues of the Academy*, has (to carry on his own beautiful Metaphor) mistaken the Door, or designedly led his Initiates into a wrong Apartment. For if he'll believe an Evidence of his own bringing, *Tully*, who certainly was acquainted with the Sentiments of all the different Sects, will rectify his Error: " Quorum e numero [i. e. Sceptic. omin. philos. vide supra in Acad. qu.] " tollendus est et *Plato* et " *Socrates*: alter quia reliquit perfectissimam disciplinam, " *Peripateticos* et *Academicos*, nominibus differentes, re con- " gruentes. *Socrates* autem, &c." Acad. quæst. lib. 4. But however Mr. *Warburton* chose to set this aside, together with other innumerable Passages in *Tully*, *Xenophon*, and *Plato* himself, and by a new-invented Figure of his own Rhetoric call'd *Confusion*, which join'd with another of the same Origin call'd *Division*, has been us'd by him with astonishing Success in all his late Controversies; the ingenious Contrivance above is a great Instance of the Force of the first Figure; and a positive Denial that *Answerers by Profession*, and *the venerable Gentlemen of the long Robe*, were Names ever intended *for the same People*, is a convincing Proof of the Efficacy of the last new Figure.

[9] Plat. Theag.

him by that beautiful Irony, which he uſed ſo often, upon the abſurd Cuſtom of the *Grecians* of running after the *Sophiſts*, who profeſs'd to teach Wiſdom, and having in the ſame Strain recommended *Gorgias*, *Polus*, and others, "From among theſe, "ſays he, you ſhould chuſe a Preceptor for "your Son; but to call me to that Office "is by no means proper." But *Theages* ſtill perſiſting in his Requeſt, and declaring that ſeveral of his Acquaintance had become wiſe by his Precepts, who before were rather remarkable for their Want of Prudence, *Socrates* aſk'd him if he knew what that Wiſdom was, to which the young Man anſwering in the Affirmative; "No, "my Friend, reply'd he, you are deceiv'd; "but I will tell you what it really is. "There has attended me from my Child-"hood, by a particular Favor of Pro-"vidence, an inward Spirit, which, when "it calls upon me, diſſuades [10] me from "the Thing I am about to do, but never "perſuades me to any thing." This internal

[10] *Tully* too obſerves, that this internal Impulſe (which he juſtly tranſlates *aliquid divinum* indefinitely, for he underſtood it as *Socrates* meant it, ſomething which *forebodes* as we ſay in *Engliſh*) was always dehortative: "Aliquid divinum, "quod *Socrates* Dæmonium appellat, cui ſemper ipſe pa-"ruerit, nunquam impellenti, ſæpe revocanti." Cicer. de Div.

ternal Impulſe of the Soul attended him thro' Life, which (not to regard it in a ſuperſtitious Light, but as the Acquiſition of a ſuperior Underſtanding by Obſervation on the Cauſes of human Events) never fail'd in its almoſt prophetic Dehortations; ſeveral Inſtances of which are mentioned in the ſame Dialogue, after the Words above cited by himſelf, and in his Apology before the Judges. But as this divine Voice, or Dæmon, as it is figuratively called, had made many imagine (who have regarded it as a real Spirit, thro' the gloomy Twilight of a dull Underſtanding) that *Socrates* intended to impoſe upon the *Athenians* [11], as other Impoſtors

[11] I am greatly ſurpriz'd how ſo candid an Author as *Rollin* ſhould accuſe *Socrates* of an Impoſture, who very well knew that he never made uſe of thoſe common Deceits of Prieſts and Stateſmen, to raiſe his own Reputation with the People: "Je penſe en meme tems, ſays he, qu'il n'etoit "pas faché de laiſſar croire au peuple que c'etoit en effet "une divinité, de quelque genre qu'elle fut, que l'inſpiroit "et lui decouvroit l'avenir. Cette opinion pouvoit, le re-"lever beaucoup dans l'Eſprit des *Atheniens*, et lui donnoit „une autorité dont on ſait que les plus grands hommes du „paganiſme; [then he gives us in a Liſt of Lawgivers who made uſe of Impoſtures] "etoient fort jaloux, et qu'ils „tachoient de ſe procurer par des communications ſecrettes „et des entretiens pretendus avec quelque divinité." Hiſt. anc. vol. 4. How contrary was ſuch a Proceeding to the whole Life of our Philoſopher! which was ſpent not in inculcating but eradicating all Superſtition from the human Mind; otherwiſe he might eaſily have pretended to the Gift of Prophecy, from many Things which came to paſs to countenance

Impoſtors frequently have done upon the Ignorant, by a Pretence of having an Intercourſe with ſupernatural Agents, I think it neceſſary before I proceed, to clear up this Point, and ſhew by inconteſtable Proof what was meant by that Expreſſion.

Various are the Opinions of ancient Writers concerning this *Dæmon*, (for we find that he conſtantly obeyed the divine Call, as it is term'd, both relating to himſelf and his Friends, not only in indifferent Affairs, but in thoſe of the greateſt Conſequence, nay even where his own Life was concern'd, as I ſhall obſerve in a proper Place [12]) ſome will have it that it was a real Viſion [13] which frequently appear'd to him; ſome that it was an Impoſture [14]; ſome that it was only the ſuperintending Genius [15] which attends every Man from his

countenance his Predictions. Vide Cic. de Div. Plut. de Dæm. Socr. Plat. in Theag. et in Apol.

[12] Vide infra Book IV.

[13] Plut. de Dæm. Socr.

[14] Ibid.

[15] 'Twas an Opinion held by many of the Ancients, that every Man at his Birth had a *Dæmon* or *ſuperintending Genius* born with him, or aſſigned by Providence to conduct him thro' Life; and this *Genius* too was repreſented as a good Being, as we may learn from this Fragment of *Menander*,

Απαντι δαιμων ανδρι συμπαρεισταται
Ευθυς γενεθλιος, μυσταγωγος του βιου
Αγαθος·

The

his Birth to his Death, and was ſtronger in him than the reſt of Mankind; and others, that it was an immediate Intelligence[16] or Inſpiration

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The Word μυϛαγογος is beautifully apply'd in this Place; for being alluſive to the Office of the Prieſt who led the Initiates into the ſacred Myſteries at *Eleuſis*, it heightens the Conceit, by metaphorically repreſenting Life as a Myſtery, which required ſuch an Attendant to conduct it thro' its Ambages. The *Stoics* imagined that this *Dæmon* was Part of the *Anima Mundi* diſcerp'd for a while from that *all-inſpiring Being*. *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*, the Royal Philoſopher, ſays in the Language of that Sect, that thoſe Men are truly ſaid to live with the Gods, who obey the inward Dictates of this *Dæmon*. Συζη δε θεοις ο συνεχως δεικνυς αυτοις την εαυτȣ ψυχην αρεσκομενην μεν τοις απονεμομενοις, ποιȣσαν δε οσα βȣλεται ο Δαιμων, ον εκαϛω προϛατην ϗ ηγομενα ο Ζευς εδωκεν, αποσπασμα εαυτȣ· ȣτος δε εϛιν ο εκαϛȣ Νȣς ϗ λογος. Marc. Aur. Med. lib. 5. ſect. 27. The good Emperor, tho' his Notions were erroneous in regard to the Manner of the Exiſtence of the *Deity*, thought more worthily of his Diſpoſition than ſeveral, who, unworthily ſheltering themſelves under the Name of *Chriſtians*, have been guilty of the groſſeſt Blaſphemy. This honeſt Heathen believ'd, that the SUPREME BEING had endowed Men with a Soul ſo *naturally* good, that if we attended to its inward Impulſe, would by that inſtantaneous Perception of what was *right*, *juſt*, and *beautiful*, lead us to Happineſs; for as a celebrated *Platoniſt* obſerves, *Eſt mentibus hominum veri boni* naturaliter *inſerta cupiditas*, then ſubjoins, to reconcile the too common Practice of the World, which ſeems contrary to his Obſervation at firſt ſight, *ſed ad falſa devius error abducit*. Boet. de Conſol. Phil. lib. 3.

[16] *Plutarch* introduces *Simmias* giving this Account of it in his Treatiſe concerning the *Dæmon* of *Socrates*; and indeed this Punction of the Soul may, agreeable even to the Principles of Natural Religion, be eſteemed an Intelligence or Inſpiration from Heaven; but this muſt be conſidered *mediately*, and not *immediately*; and in that Caſe *Socrates* was indubitably inſpired by GOD himſelf. For the great CREATOR of the

Inſpiration from Heaven: but the Truth is, that it was nothing more than that inward Feeling inſeparable from the Hearts of all good and wiſe Men, which (excited at firſt by probable Conjectures of future Events, collected from a retroſpective View of the paſt, and a Conſideration of the invariable Connection of human Contingencies) works itſelf by Degrees even into our Conſtitution, and gives the Breaſt an almoſt prophetic Senſation of what ought to be done, before the ſlower Faculties of the Mind can prove the moral Rectitude of the Conduct. Such then, and no other, was what has abſurdly been called the *Familiar* of *Socrates*, and was regarded in no other Light by *Xenophon* and *Plato*, his Diſciples and Contemporaries: for the Soul of Man was frequently by the Ancients philoſophically and figuratively called a *Dæmon*[17], and thoſe were ſaid to be

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the Univerſe did from the firſt interweave in our human Frames, Organs and Faculties for ſuch Senſations, whoſe Powers were proportion'd to our Virtue and Wiſdom. *Socrates* therefore, who was the perfecteſt Man of his Time, had, by a Moral and Phyſical Neceſſity, a more lively Feeling of this kind than the reſt of his Species.

[17] This Language is explain'd thus by *Ariſtotle*: Ετι το επιχειρειν μεταφεροντα τυνομα ϗ τον λογον, ως μαλιστα προσηκον εκλαμβανειν. η ως κειται τυνομα· οια ευψυχον, μη τον ανδρειον, καθαπερ κειται, αλλα τον ευ την ψυχην εχοντα· ομοιως δε ϗ ευδαιμονα, ϗ αν ο δαιμων η σπυδαιος· καθαπερ ο Χενοκρατης φησιν ευδαιμονα ειναι τον την ψυχην

be poſſeſſed with a good *Dæmon*, or to be *well-ſpirited*, whoſe Souls were fraught with Wiſdom and Virtue.

This then certainly was the Meaning of *Socrates*; for on one hand, if he had had Fanaticiſm enough to have believ'd he really did ſee a Viſion, he not only would have deſiſted from ridiculing ſuch Superſtition in others, but would have communicated to his Friends how, when, and where it appeared to him; and on the other hand, which is the only Alternative for Objection, if he had deſign'd to play the Impoſtor, he undoubtedly would have made uſe of the Number of Occurrences which fell out in his Favor, and the fond Credulity of the People, then prepared for the Reception of ſuch Pretences. His Conduct however, we find,

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ψυχην εχουſα αγαθαιαν· ταυτην δε εκαſω ειναι δαιμονα. Ariſt. Top. lib. 2. c. 6. Thus *Virgil*, regarding the inward Impulſe of the Soul as the Call of a God, makes *Niſus* thus accoſt *Euryalus*;

——————*Diine hunc ardorem mentibus addunt*
Euryale? an ſua cuique Deus *ſit*, dira Cupido? Æn. lib. 9.

Apuleius, the moſt learned *Platoniſt* of his Time, ſays: "Bona Cupido animi bonus Deus eſt. Unde nonnulli arbi-"trantur, ut jam prius dictum eſt ευδαιμονας dici beatos, "quorum Dæmon bonus, id eſt, animus virtute perfectus "eſt: quem noſtra lingua, ut ego interpretor, haud ſciam "an bono, certo quidem meo periculo poteris *Genium* voca-"re: quod is Deus qui eſt animus ſui cuique, quanquam ſit "immortalis, tamen quodammodo cum homine gignitur." Apul. de Deo Socr.

find, was different in both Caſes; for he was too wiſe a Man to be impoſed on that way himſelf, and too good a one to impoſe upon others[18]; beſides theſe already mentioned, one irrefragable Argument remains, to prove that this much talk'd of Preſcience was the Effect of a more refin'd Virtue and Prudence, which inſpir'd his Heart with a more ardent Fire than thoſe of others, that were clogg'd with the foul Dregs of earthly Concupiſcence; which is this: When he declar'd in the public Court at his Tryal, that his *Dæmon*[19], as he commonly call'd it, had not given him any Sign that Day to deſiſt from undertaking his Defence and ſtanding to the Iſſue, which it never fail'd to

[18] Monſ. *Voltaire* ſays, with his uſual Confidence, ſpeaking of the human Soul, which he knew nothing of: "Le "*Demon* de *Socrate* lui avoit apris ſans doute ce qui en etoit. "Il y a des gens a le verité qui pretendent qu'un homme "qui ſe vantoit d'avoir un Genie familier, etoit indubitable-"ment un fou ou un fripon, mais ces gens la ſont trop diffi-"ciles." Dans les mel. de Phil. et de Lit. With this ignorant ironical Sneer he would inſinuate, that *Socrates* was either Knave or Fool; for his Argument reduced to a ſerious Syllogiſm runs thus: He who boaſts of having a *Familiar* is either Knave or Fool; *Socrates* boaſted of having a Familiar, therefore he was one or the other. His Major is certainly true; but Ignorance benighting his Underſtanding, when he came to his Minor, this *Gallic* Genius was miſled by the *Ignis fatuus* of a pert Vivacity, and bemir'd in a falſe Concluſion. A Miſhap which unletter'd Wits are too often ſubject to.

[19] Plat. et Xenoph. Apol.

to do when he was about to do any thing wrong; and when he ſpeaks to the Judges again of this *Dæmon*, as of a Thing they had frequently heard him mention, not one of his Accuſers took notice of it, or made it a *particular* Part of his Charge, (tho' indeed in the Apprehenſions of the Vulgar, it came under the *general* Accuſation, to which he made a proper Anſwer adapted to their Capacities) which they inevitably muſt have done, had it been regarded by them to have contained any ſupernatural Pretenſions. 'Tis true, *Xenophon* ſays, a Tumult immediately ran thro' the Croud, upon his declaring that he never was miſtaken in what he predicted from the Movements of this *Dæmon*[20], ſome not believing what he ſaid, (thoſe were the Vulgar and Illiterate who miſunderſtood him) and ſome, envying that he ſhould be more eſteem'd by the Gods than themſelves, (thoſe were his Perſecutors the Prieſts) whoſe jealous Spirit of holy Malice had dragg'd him to that Tribunal, where he ſtill kept his uſual Reſolution in detecting their gainful Frauds; "For, ſaid he, (alluding to that fooliſh Superſtition of Augury) "I call this in-

"ward

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[20] Επει δε ταυτα ακουσαντες οι δικασται εθορυβουν, οι μεν απιστουντες τοις λεγομενοις, οι δε και φθονουντες, ει και παρα θεων μειζονων η αυτοι τυγχανοι. Xen. Apol.

" ward Spirit a *Dæmon*, and think in ſay-
" ing ſo, that I ſpeak more truly and
" piouſly, than thoſe who place the Power
" of the *Gods* (i. e. the Indication of their
" Will) in Birds [21]." So much I thought
neceſſary to explain concerning the *Dæmon*
of our Philoſopher, (as I ſhall have occaſion
to mention it hereafter) in order to confute
thoſe many Abſurdities entertain'd about it,
which were firſt ſpawn'd from the muddy
Head of Heathen Sophiſts, and ſince fond-
ly foſter'd by the Ignorance-nurſing Care of
ſome of the Fathers. Now to proceed.

About the Age of fifty *Socrates* married
a Woman of the moſt turbulent Diſpoſi-
tion, named *Xantippe*, which was the only
[22] Wife he ever had. This Woman (I ſhall
paſs

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[21] Εγω δε τουτο Δαιμονιον καλω, καὶ οιμαι ουτως ονομαζων καὶ αληθεστερα καὶ οσιωτερα λεγειν των τοις ορνισιν ανατιθεντων την των θεων δυναμιν. Xen. Apol. He ſubjoins, that he had another Argument for the ſuperior Truth of this *Dæmon*, as he call'd it, which was, that it never ly'd; thereby inſinuating, by way of Diſtinction, a very unwelcome Truth, that *their* pretended Predictions frequently proved falſe. This rouzed the Swarm of Sacerdotal Hornets; for it is very well known, that, in the Intercommunity of Pagan Worſhip, tho' every State would tolerate, nay ſometimes adopt new Matters of Faith, yet they could never bear to have the leaſt Part of the old called in Queſtion.

[22] Many Authors will have it, that he had two Wives at once, which ill-grounded Notion ſhall be confuted in the proper Place, [vide infra Book V] and ſeem to imagine too that he was married immediately after the firſt military Expedition at

paſs over the many trifling Stories told of her malignant Temper, to avoid Prolixity) made his Home, which to others is a ſweet Aſylum from the Fatigues of Life, one continued Scene of Diſturbance, and the noiſy Den of Strife and Confuſion; yet ſhe could never, as ſhe frequently declared herſelf with Vexation, ruffle the calm Temper of her patient Huſband; who being ask'd how he came to chuſe a Woman of her diſagreeable and outrageous Behaviour, made Anſwer, that he did it for the ſame Reaſon, as *thoſe Men who are deſirous to be ſkill'd in Horſemanſhip, procure not thoſe Horſes that are moſt eaſy to be manag'd, but ſuch as are moſt fiery and high ſpirited* [23].

Thus Afflictions ſurrounded him on all Sides, as if Patience had made his Breaſt

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at *Potidæa*; and this in all Probability is as erroneous as the other; for had he been married immediately after the Plague that happen'd then, as they affirm he was, which was about the thirty-ninth of his Age, his Children, or ſome of them, would have in all Likelihood been full grown at his Death more than thirty Years after; but we find by *Plato*, that they were then all under Age, for he calls them παιδια. [vide Plat. Phæd. p. 86.] Two of them, ſays he, were young, and one pretty big, μεγας; which makes it probable, ſuppoſing him to be about ſeventeen or eighteen, that *Socrates* was married about fifty.

[23] Οτι, εφη, ὁρω ϗ ἱππικους βελομενους γενεσθαι, ϗ τους ευπειθεσταλους, αλλα τους θυμοειδεις ἱππους κεκτημενους. Xen. Conv.

the Place of her Security, and they had beſieged there this amiable Virtue. But in ſpight of the ſtrongeſt Attacks of Calamity, *Socrates* triumph'd over every Aſſault; and tho' Happineſs was driven from the public Aſſemblies of the People by Anarchy, from Religion and Philoſophy by Superſtition and Sophiſtry, from Society by an almoſt general Corruption of Manners, and laſtly, from the laſt Receſs of Comfort, his Home, by domeſtic Troubles; yet retiring into himſelf, he found Happineſs in his own Soul, protected by the parental Care of Peace and Innocence. On account of this great Depravity of Morals, he never would accept of any Employment; and tho' by the political Conſtitution of his Country every Man had a Right to give his Opinion in the public Convocations, yet he conſtantly avoided the Meetings, till he was elected, after he was more than threeſcore Years of Age, to repreſent his own Ward in the general Senate. This Senate [24] was compoſed of five hundred Members, and was called, by way of Diſtinction from the reſt, the Senate of *five hundred*. Every Citizen, of what Rank ſoever, paſt thirty Years of Age, was qualify'd to have a Seat in it, where they

[24] Vide Sigon. de Repub. Athen. et Sam. Petit. Leges Attic. lib. 3.

they continued after the Time of Election but for one Year, at the End of which the Senate was diſſolved, and freſh Members were choſen: And in this it differed from that of *Areopagus*, which laſted for Life. The Manner of Election was this: All the People of *Athens* were divided into ten Tribes or Wards, every one of which ſent fifty of its own Body into the Senate, who were choſen by Lot in their reſpective Wards; the Names of the Candidates being written upon thin Pieces of Braſs, were put into one Vaſe, and the ſame Number of Beans [25] into another, fifty of which were white and all the reſt black; at the ſame time as the Name of a Citizen was drawn out of one Veſſel, a Bean was taken out of another, and thoſe who caſually came up with the white were elected Senators. All the Affairs of the Republic paſs'd thro' this Senate, they regulated every thing belonging to the public Buildings, Streets, Arſenals and Temples; they managed the Finances, declared War, made Peace, and examined all Articles and Propoſals relating to Government before they were laid before the general Aſſemblies of the People; each Tribe in its Turn ma-

[25] For this Reaſon they were frequently called κυαμευτοὶ ἄρχοντες.

nag'd the whole Buſineſs, one alone having for five Weeks the ſole Direction of Affairs, after which another ſucceeded and officiated for the ſame Time, and ſo a third, till it had gone thro' all the ten. Theſe Senators whilſt they were in Office were called *Prytanes*, among whom ten preſided, whoſe Power laſted for a Week, and then devolv'd upon ten others, till it had been exercis'd by the whole Tribe. Out of theſe ten Preſidents one was elected call'd the *Epiſtate*, who held his Office only for one Day, and that but once in his Life, it being prohibited to be oftener, on account of the great Importance of the Charge; for this Preſident over all, kept the Keys of the Fortreſs, the public Treaſure, nay, by the Nature of his Office, the Safety of the whole Republic in his Hands. *Socrates* being elected into this Senate, became in his Turn Epiſtate; and tho' his Aukwardneſs in the common Ceremonies of State gave his Collegues an Opportunity [26] to jeſt upon him, yet an Affair of the high-

eſt

[26] He deſcribes himſelf in this Situation: Περυσι βασιλευειν λαχων επειδαν η φυλη επρυτανευε, ϗ εδει με επιψηφιζειν, γελωτα παρειχον, ϗ ουκ επισταμενω επιψηφιζειν.——And again, *Calicles* in the ſame Dialogue perſuading him to frequent the public Aſſemblies of the People, tells him, that he was ſo ignorant of judicial Pleadings and Proceedings, that if he was accuſed he would not know

eſt Importance coming before the Senate whilſt his Tribe preſided, he gave a moſt remarkable Inſtance of Wiſdom, Courage, and Integrity, by magnanimouſly hazarding his own Life, to protect the Lives of the Innocent, againſt the outrageous Menaces of a Superſtition-deluded Multitude. The Affair was this [27]: After the Battle at the *Arginuſian* Iſlands, in which the *Athenians* gain'd a ſignal Victory over the *Lacedæmonians*, the Commanders of the Fleet being prevented by a Storm from burying the Dead, they were, for that undeſign'd and unavoidable Omiſſion, upon their Return to *Athens*, inſtead of receiving the grateful Acclamations of Joy from their Country, which they had ſo bravely defended, brought before a Prieſt-govern'd Tribunal of titular Juſtice, try'd, condemn'd, ſentenc'd, and put to an ignominious Death. The Burial of the Dead has in all Ages, Countries, and Religions, been juſtly regarded as an Act of Piety; and the firſt *Egyptian* Legiſlators (from whom the *Grecians* borrowed almoſt all their religious Cuſtoms and Ceremonies)

know how to defend himſelf: Νυν δ' ει τις σε λαβομενος εις το δεσμωτηριον απαγοι, φασκων αδικειν, μηδεν αδικουντα, οιδ' οτι ουκ αν εχοις ο, τι χρησαιο σαυτω, &c. Plat. Gorg.

[27] For a full Account of this Engagement, vide Xen. Græc. Hiſt. lib. 1. et Diod. Sicul. lib. 13.

in order to enforce the Performance of this Duty, wiſely inculcated a Notion into the Minds of the People, that a religious Obſervance of this Ceremony was not only laid by the Gods as an indiſpenſable Charge upon the ſurviving Friends of the Dead, but was alſo neceſſary too to the future Happineſs of the Defunct themſelves [28]. The *Athenian*

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[28] Alluſive to this Notion, *Virgil* deſcribes thoſe, whoſe Bodies were ſtill unburied, reſtleſsly wandering about the Banks of *Styx*;

Hæc omnis, quem cernis, inops, inhumataque turba,
——— Hi quos vehit unda, ſepulti.
Nec ripas datur horrendas, nec rauca fluenta
Tranſportare prius, quam ſedibus oſſa quierunt,
Centum *errant annos, volitantque hæc littora circum,*
Tum demum admiſſi, ſtagna exoptata reviſunt. Æn. lib. 6.

Mr. *Warburton*, who ſuppoſes the whole ſixth Book of the *Æneid* to be a Deſcription of the *Eleuſinian* Myſteries, (which Thought, wrong as it is, by the Bye, tho' he lets it paſs for his own, was borrowed, or more properly ſtolen, from a *French* Romance, entitled, *The Life of Sethos*) gives a very cold Reaſon for the Invention of this Doctrine. After having properly enough obſerved, that the Inculcation of it was one of the wiſeſt Contrivances of ancient Legiſlation, and that it was originally *Egyptian*: "Theſe profound "Maſters of Wiſdom, adds he, in contriving for the Safety "of their Fellow Citizens, found nothing would contribute "more to it than the public and ſolemn Interment of the "Dead; for without this Proviſion, private Murders might "be eaſily and ſecurely perpetrated. They therefore intro-"duced the Cuſtom of the moſt public and moſt pompous "funeral Rites." Here he ſeems to think the Prevention of private Murders to be the *only* Intention of the *Egyptian* Legiſlators in the Inſtitution of pompous funeral Rites; and the Act of Sepulture itſelf to be the *ſole* End of one of the wiſeſt Contrivances of ancient Legiſlation. No doubt, the

Prevent

Athenian Multitude, ignorant of the Riſe and End of this ſacerdotal Policy, and intoxicated

Prevention of private Murders might be one Motive, tho' a ſecondary one, for ſuch Inſtitutions, as well as the Act of Sepulture is in itſelf decent, neceſſary, and pious; but theſe pompous Rites, as well as the traditional Superſtition which ſupported them, had a higher Deſign. The primary Motive for theſe truly wiſe Contrivances, was to prevent Vice and Immoralities of all Kinds; and by the moſt affecting of public Examples, to induce the good to a conſtant Perſeverence in Virtue, and to deter the impious from their wicked Practices; which was executed in the following Manner. 'Twas a Cuſtom among the *Egyptians*, before they interred their Dead, to canvas over the Actions of the Deceaſed, and to bring their whole paſt Life to a Tryal before Judges appointed for that Purpoſe. Thoſe who upon a fair and impartial Examination were found to have liv'd a virtuous and good Life, were diſmiſs'd from the Tribunal with Praiſes proportionable to their Merit, recommended as worthy Examples to Poſterity, and aſſign'd over to the Society of the Bleſſed in the Shades below; but others, in whoſe Characters Vice and Miſchief were predominant, were publicly branded with Infamy, and aſſign'd over to the Regions of Affliction. [Diod. Sicul.] As every one was convinc'd that he ſhould undergo this impartial Tryal after Death, wherein his former Abilities, Power, and Fortune, could avail nothing, nor avert a proper and juſt Sentence, ſuch Examples were powerful Checks to Vice, and pleaſing Incentives to Virtue. The Legiſlators having by Practice found their End in this Inſtitution, enforc'd the Obſervance of it by the Superſtition already mentioned, that thoſe whoſe Bodies were unburied, ſhould wander in a State of Reſtleſſneſs a *hundred Years* on the Banks of the River *Styx*. Now this was invented to obviate by Terror the clandeſtine Interment of thoſe whom the ſurviving Parents or Relations were afraid to bring to this Teſt of Juſtice, being deſirous to ſhelter the Memory of the Defunct from Ignominy by an Omiſſion of this Ceremony. The public Interment of the Body being firſt inſiſted upon, only as concomitant to the Rites, and by Corruption afterwards

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toxicated with Fancies, founded upon the *Letter* of thoſe ſacred Legends, and not diſtinguiſhing

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made a neceſſary Part of them. But then as this reſtleſs Wandering was Puniſhment inflicted for the Neglect of this Office, why were theſe [ſuppoſed wicked] Souls to wander *only a hundred Years*, and then be permitted to paſs the River?

Centum annos errant, volitantque hæc littora circum,
Tum demum admiſſi ſtagna exoptata reviſunt.

At the firſt view a Continuation of the Puniſhment would ſeem more conſiſtent with the Deſign of the Legiſlators, and the Perpetuity of it more deter the ſurviving Friends from treſpaſſing on their Decrees. 'Twas in this firſt ſuperficial View alone that Mr *Warburton* regarded it; for not ſearching to the Bottom, he took it for an Inconſiſtency; and therefore not knowing how to ſolve it, paſs'd over theſe Lines in Silence, which he certainly would not have done in that Parade of Explication, if he had underſtood them. But in this ſeeming Contradiction the Legiſlators compleated their Scheme, by inculcating, that after this previous Puniſhment the Wicked (i. e. thoſe who were ſuppoſed to be ſo, not undergoing the uſual ſepulchral Tryal) ſhould not thus eſcape the Miſeries of the Damned; for tho' they might evade perchance human Laws, yet they ſhould inevitably at length (tho' after that above mentioned Puniſhment for the Evaſion of human Laws) be brought to a ſevere Tryal in the Regions below, before thoſe divine Judges whoſe Power none can evade, and meet with a Sentence due to their Crimes. Otherwiſe it would have been a kind of Relief to thoſe who had been remarkably vicious and Monſters of Impiety, to have eſcaped *Tartarean* Puniſhments for thoſe of ſo much milder a nature; therefore

Demum admiſſi ſtagna exoptata reviſunt,

in order to be examined by the Infernal Judges, and allotted their proper Stations. 'Twas the Word *exoptata* perhaps that puzzled Mr *Warburton*; he thought it was us'd *abſolutely*, as if *exoptabilia*, which indeed might puzzle a more ſharp-ſighted Critic than himſelf to make Senſe of. But *exoptata*, tho' an Epithet to *ſtagna*, is uſed here *relatively* to the

diſtinguiſhing betwixt an unavoidable Omiſſion and a wilful Neglect, raiſed the moſt implacable Clamor on this Account againſt theſe unfortunate Patriots, whom they erroneouſly ſuppoſed to be the Authors of the Miſery inflicted on their deceaſed Friends and Relations who fell in the Battle, and never ceas'd to proſecute their religious Revenge, till they had bath'd their Hands like Parricides in the Blood of thoſe, who had ſo nobly ſhed Part of it before in the filial Defence of their Country. Such is the irreſiſtible Force of Superſtition, which eradicates from the Breaſt every benevolent Principle of Humanity, and like a Sorcereſs having enchanted the Optics of Reaſon, converts Cruelty, and every monſtrous Phantom of a diſtemper'd Brain, into the inviting [29] Forms of the moſt ſacred Duty!

When theſe Victims to barbarous Enthuſiaſm were brought to their Tryal, and indicted

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the wandering Ghoſts, as if it had been *admiſſi exoptantes ſtagna reviſunt*, who being tir'd with their uncertain reſtleſs Condition, and *hoping* to find Eaſe in a Change, *wiſh'd* to paſs the River. If the Reaſon for wandering on the Banks of the River *Styx*, only for a *hundred Years*, is regarded as above explain'd, 'tis ſo far from being contradictory to the general Deſign of the Inſtitution, that it is the very Completion of it.

[29] Both ſacred and prophane Hiſtories abound with numberleſs Inſtances; ſuch were the human Sacrifices to *Moloch*, the Vow of *Idomeneus*, the intended Sacrifice of *Iphigenia*, and many others.

indicted according to Form by the venal Orators who were hired for that Purpoſe, all the Senators were ſo intimidated by the Cries of the People, that not only thoſe who thro' Ignorance joined in the Proſecution, but even the others who tacitly diſapprov'd of the inhuman Proceeding, were compell'd thro' Fear to give their Voice for the Execution of theſe brave unhappy Men, *Socrates* only excepted [30], who reſolutely perſiſted in the Defence of their Innocence, and refuſed to the laſt to join in the popular Suffrage, chuſing rather, as we are told by his faithful Diſciple, to withſtand the Threats of the moſt powerful Men in the Republic, than break his Senatorial Oath by acting contrary to Reaſon and Juſtice. However, notwithſtanding his Influence as the beſt of Men, and his Power as a chief Magiſtrate, notwithſtanding

[30] Οἱ δὲ Πρύτανεις φοβηθέντες ὁμολογεῖν πάντες ἔφθησεν πλὴν Σωκράτης τὸ Σωφρονίσκου, ὅστις δὲ οὐκ ἔφη ἀλλ' ἢ κατὰ νόμον ποιήσειν. Xen. Græc. Hiſt. lib. 1.

Βουλεύσας δὲ καὶ τὸν Βουλευτικὸν ὅρκον ὀμόσας, ἐν ᾧ ἦν, κατὰ τοὺς νόμους βουλεύσειν, Ἐπιστάτης ἐν τῷ δήμῳ γενόμενος, ἐπιθυμήσαντος τοῦ δήμου παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ἕνεκα στρατηγεῖν μιᾷ ψήφῳ, τοὺς ἀμφὶ Θρασύλοον καὶ Ἐρασινίδην, ἀποκτεῖναι πάντας, οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ἐπιψηφίσαι. ὀργιζομένου μὲν αὐτῷ τοῦ δήμου, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ δυνατῶν ἀπειλούντων ἀλλὰ πείσει μὲν πλείονος ἐποιήσατο εὐορκεῖν, ἢ χαρισάμενος τῷ δήμῳ παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον, καὶ φυλαξάμενος τοὺς ἀπειλοῦντας. Xen. Mem. lib. 1.

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ing the Voice of Nature and Innocence pleading for the Accuſed, notwithſtanding the Republic at that Time ſtood in need of ſuch experienc'd, brave, and vigilant Commanders, the idle Notions of falſe Zeal prevailed over all theſe Conſiderations, caſt the greateſt Infamy on the State by ſo cruel and unnatural a Sacrifice, and depriv'd it at once of its laſt remaining military Ornaments and Protection. This the *Athenians* too ſoon experienc'd; for their Forces being thus weaken'd by the irreparable Loſs of their Generals, were the Year after attacked by Surprize by *Lyſander* the *Lacedæmonian* General, when almoſt all their Ships were deſtroyed, and ſome thouſand Men killed and taken Priſoners. *Lyſander*, fluſh'd with this Succeſs, immediately proceeded to *Athens* without Interruption, and laid Siege to the City with a great Fleet by Sea, whilſt another Army did the ſame by Land, under Command of the Kings of *Sparta*. The *Athenians* thus ſurrounded by Sea and Land, depriv'd of Succour and deſtitute of all manner of Proviſion, were obliged to ſollicit humbly Peace of their Enemies, which they had ſo often refus'd with Diſdain, and ſubmit to the Diſcretion of the Victors. Upon this the *Peloponneſian* Allies entered into Council, to conſider in what manner they ſhould treat the Vanquiſhed. Some were for proceeding with the utmoſt Rigor,

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and gave their Voices for putting all the Inhabitants to the Sword, and laying the City itself in Ruins to the very Foundation [31]; but others urging how much the *Athenians* had formerly contributed to the general Safety of *Greece*, Mercy prevail'd, and they were contented to demolish the Fortifications only. But a little Time after fresh Tumults arising among the Citizens about the Magistracy, *Lysander* took that Opportunity of changing the Form of Government, abolished the *Democracy*, and established an *Oligarchy* composed of thirty Men [32], who were justly branded by all Posterity with the Name of the *Thirty Tyrants*. The City was never so miserable as under the Administration of these Monsters of Impiety, whose Reign was one continued Scene of Rapines, Proscriptions, private Murders, and public Massacres. *Socrates* had the Mortification to see *Critias*, who had

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[31] *Xenophon* informs us, that they were the *Corinthians* and *Thebans* who were for totally destroying the City; but that the *Lacedæmonians*, conformable to their usual Bravery and Generosity, over-ruled so cruel and ungrateful a Sentence. Επει δε ηκον, εκκλησιαν εποιησαν, εν η αντελεγον Κορινθιοι καὶ Θεβαιο μαλιστα, μη πενδεσθαι αλλ' εξαιρειν. Λακηδαιμονιοι δε ουκ εφασαν πολιν Ελληνιδα ανδραποδιειν, μεγα αγαθον ειργασαμενην εν τοις μεγιστοις, κινδυνοις γενομενοις τη Ελληνιδι, &c. Xen. Gr. Hist. lib. 1.

[32] Plut. in vit. Lysand. et Diod. Sicul. lib. 14.

had formerly been one of his Diſciples, at the Head of this deteſtable Number, from whom he might reaſonably have expected better Treatment than he experienced; but having upon a certain Occaſion reprehended him for his brutal and unnatural Luſts, this apoſtate Tyrant retained the Rebuke in his Mind; and one of the firſt Acts of his illicit Power was to interdict the public teaching of Philoſophy, thereby to prevent his Godlike Maſter from propagating the Love of (what muſt neceſſarily have been ſo deſtructive to his vicious Deſigns) true Wiſdom and Virtue. *Socrates* however, being not in the leaſt [33] intimidated by the Prohibition of Tyrants, and deſpiſing the Inſtitutions of ſuch, which were enacted not only againſt the Laws of Nature, but againſt thoſe of his Country too, perſiſted, with the moſt magnanimous Reſolution, even

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[33] Thus he acted up to the Character which *Horace*, in the warmeſt Fit of poetical Enthuſiaſm, gives of a juſt Man. One would almoſt imagine that the *Roman* Poet had copied the following Draught from this great Original:

Juſtum et tenacem propoſiti virum,
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus inſtantis tyranni
Mente quatit ſolida. lib. 3. od. 3.

The two firſt Verſes being, as it were, deſcriptive of his honeſt Reſolution in the Senate at the Condemnation of the Generals, and the laſt of his noble and unſhaken Contempt of *Critias*, the firſt Man in the Tyranny.

even amidſt daily Aſſaſſinations and Executions, in the Vindication of the public Rights of Mankind, and in conſtant Exhortations to his Fellow Citizens, to encourage them to attempt the Recovery of their ancient Virtue, and its never-failing Attendant, Liberty. Nevertheleſs, tho' he ſo often hazarded [34] his Life in Oppoſition

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[34] This remarkable Inſtance of his brave Contempt of the unjuſt Commands of the Tyrants, is mentioned in *Plato*'s *Apology*. The thirty Tyrants, being deſirous to give a Sanction to one of their cruel Proceedings, ſent for *Socrates*, with fourteen others, and commanded them to bring *Leon* from *Salamina* to put him to Death. The others who were charg'd with the Commiſſion, executed it according to Orders; but *Socrates* refuſed, and choſe rather to run the Hazard of ſuffering himſelf an unjuſt Death, than be inſtrumental in that of another. *Diodorus Siculus* relates in his 14th Book, that *Theramenes*, one of the thirty, being convicted by *Critias* and the reſt, on account of his Diſſention and Diſapprobation of their Villainies, and being drag'd from an Altar where he had fled for Refuge, *Socrates* and two others his Friends were the only People, out of an innumerable Multitude, who had the Courage to endeavor to make a Reſcue; and would not have deſiſted from the generous Attempt, tho' ſurrounded by the Guards of the Tyrants, if he had not been diſſuaded by the earneſt Prayers and Intreaties of *Theramenes* himſelf. *Plutarch*, in his Lives of the ten Orators, tells this Story of *Iſocrates*. Monſ. *Amyot*, from Similitude of Names would correct the Reading, and put *Socrates*, to reconcile the two Authors: But this is ſtill making a greater Miſtake: For *Plutarch* could never put *Socrates* among the ten Orators, eſpecially under that very Head where he treats of *Iſocrates* the Orator. This certainly was an Error of *Plutarch*'s own, who perhaps having ſeen this Account in ſome unfair Copy of *Diodorus*, was deceiv'd in the Trace of the Letters, and took *Iſocrates* for

tion to the Tyranny, his Enemies, as will be obſerved in the proper Place, took Advantage of that Circumſtance of *Critias*'s being once his Pupil, and inſtill'd a Notion (the moſt abſurd as well as falſe) into the Minds of the People, that this bloody and vile Diſpoſition of *Critias* was the Effect of *Socrates*'s Inſtructions.

This Oligarchy however did not continue long; for the People being at length enrag'd at theſe repeated Acts of Cruelty, took up Arms in their own Defence, expell'd the Tyrants, and in the firſt conſiderable Skirmiſh killed [35] *Critias* and *Hippomachus*, two principal Leaders of the Thirty. About this Time the Kings of *Sparta* growing jealous of the increaſing Power and Reputation of *Lyſander* [36], *Pauſanias* one of the Kings march'd at the Head of a ſuperior Army into *Attica*, under Pretence of aſſiſting the Ariſtocratic Power againſt the People; where having gained

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for *Socrates*. *Diodorus Siculus* mentions one Circumſtance which is a Confirmation he meant and wrote *Socrates*; which is this: He ſays that the Fortitude of *Theramenes* proceeded from the Philoſophy he had learnt of *Socrates*; and this he tells us in the very Place where he relates this Generoſity of his great Maſter: Ο μεν Θεραμενης εφερε γενναιως την ατυχιαν, α τε ϗ φιλοσοφιας ετι πλειον μετεσχηκως παρα Σωκρατει. Diod. Sic. lib. 14.

[35] Xenoph. Græc. Hiſt. lib. 2. et Diod. Sic. lib. 14.

[36] Plut. in vit. Lyſan. Diod. Sic. lib. 14.

gained proper Footing, he artfully undermined all the Deſigns of that General, by bringing the *Athenians* into Amity with one another, and reſtoring the ancient Form of Government, which the Pride of *Lyſander* had ſo lately abrogated. Thus far we have conducted our Philoſopher, crown'd with ſpotleſs Honor, Virtue and Wiſdom, thro' all the various Scenes of Life, acting always in that juſt Obſervance of Proportion, which it is every Man's Duty to regard in his reſpective Station to compoſe the moral Harmony of civil Society, and endeavoring to perſuade and induce others to do ſo too by his own divine Precepts and Example; at the ſame time removing all Obſtacles to his godlike Deſign, by diſpelling the Gloom of Superſtition, bringing *Philoſophy* from her uncertain Employment in the dark Caverns and inexplicable Labyrinths of Nature, and introducing her into the chearful Ways of Men [37]; defending

[37] *Socrates*, as I have already obſerved, [Book I. Note [16]] was the firſt who *altogether* apply'd the Speculations of Philoſophy to the Actions of Men, whom all the ſucceeding Moraliſts regarded as the Father of Wiſdom. *Boethius* gives us the following elegant Picture of *Philoſophy*, in both her Employments Phyſical and Moral, from which an Inference may be drawn of his Preference of the latter. "Mulier reverendi admodum vultus, oculis ardentibus, et "ultra communem hominum valentiam perſpicacibus, colore "vivido, atque inexhauſti vigoris, quamvis ita ævi plena "foret

ing his Country and protecting and ſaving his Fellow Citizens, by reſolutely expoſing his Life in Fields of Battle abroad, and ſtemming the two different Torrents of popular and tyrannic Fury at home; we come now to that glorious Concluſion, wherein, after having ſignaliz'd his invariable Obe-

H dience

" foret, ut nullo modo noſtræ crederetur ætatis: Statura " diſcretionis ambiguæ, nam nunc quidem ad communem " ſeſe hominum menſuram cohibebat, nunc vero pulſare " cœlum ſummi verticis cacumine videbatur. Quæ cum " caput altius extuliſſet, ipſum etiam cœlum penetrabat re- " ſpicientiumque hominum fruſtrabatur intuitum. Veſtes " erant tenuiſſimis filis, ſubtili artificio indiſſolubilique ma- " teria perfectæ, quas uti poſt eadem prodente cognovi, ſuis " manibus ipſa texuerat, harum in extremo margine Π, in " ſupremo vero Θ legebatur intextum. Atque inter utraſ- " que literas, in ſcalarum modum, gradus quidam inſigniti " videbantur, quibus ab inferiore ad ſuperius elementum " eſſet adſcenſus. Eandem tamen veſtem violentorum quo- " rundam ſciderant manus, et particulas, quas quiſque po- " tuit, abſtulerant." Boeth. ad Conſol. Philoſ. lib. 1. The Letter Θ, interwoven in the uppermoſt part of her Robe, and conſequently about the Breaſt, the commonly-reputed Seat of the Soul, ſignifies Θεωρια, *Contemplation*; and the Letter Π at the Bottom of it, which is ſuppoſed to be about the Feet, Πραξις, *Action*: This Part therefore of the Deſcription evidently relates to Morals, as that other Part, *cum caput altius extuliſſet, ipſum etiam cœlum penetrabat reſpicientiumque hominum fruſtrabatur intuitum*, does to Phyſics and Metaphyſics. That Sentence, *eandem tamen veſtem violentorum quorundam ſciderant manus et particulas, quas quiſque potuit, abſtulerant*, alludes to the different Sects of Philoſophers who dogmatiz'd, but more particularly the *Stoics* and *Epicureans*, who (as he a little after deſcribes them in the ſame figurative Stile) on account of ſome Parts of the Raiment which they had torn off by Force, boaſted of being the Intimates of Philoſophy.

dience to the great CREATOR of all Things by the ſtricteſt Performance of all Moral Duties, he compleated the Commiſſion of Heaven, by ſealing with his Blood the Teſtimony he bore to the all-perfect Attributes of the DEITY, and the *Unity* of his undivided Being.

The End of the THIRD BOOK.

THE

L. P. Boitard Inv.t et Sculp.

LIFE

OF

SOCRATES.

BOOK IV.

THE Thirty Tyrants being now expell'd, and the ancient Form of Government reſtor'd in the Republic, the long-concerted Conſpiracies which had been made againſt *Socrates* by the *Prieſts*, *Sophiſts*, *venal Magiſtrates*, *Poets*, and *Orators*, were again renewed under the Management of three Men, whoſe Names will be branded with indelible Infamy to all

Poſterity; which were, *Anytus*, *Melitus*, and *Lycon*. Theſe Men having (with a Malignity inſeparable from ſuch an Action) undertaken his Proſecution, took Advantage of that univerſal Deteſtation, which the late Miſeries had rais'd among the *Athenians*, againſt the Adminiſtration of the *Thirty Tyrants*, and invidiouſly ſpread a falſe Report by their Agents, that *Socrates* had inſtructed *Critias* [1], their principal Oppreſſor, in all thoſe Arts of Tyranny which he had ſo lately exerted with ſuch unheard-of Cruelty againſt them. One would imagine, that as *Socrates* had ſo ſtrenuouſly oppoſed this Monſter of Impiety, and had undergone thoſe apparent Dangers, as I have already [2] related, in Defence of his bleeding Country, that ſuch a conſpicuous Falſhood would never have gained Credit, eſpecially among ſo diſcerning a People as the *Athenians*: but whoever has attentively conſidered the Mutability of popular Favor, the fond Credulity, eaſy-receiv'd Prejudices, and ever-changing Opinion of that Word-govern'd Herd the ſilly-minded Multitude, which

[1] *Critias* had formerly in his Youth frequented the Diſcourſes of *Socrates*, but being reproved by his divine Maſter for vicious Inclinations, [vide Xen. Mem. lib. 1.] he apoſtatiz'd and left him.

[2] Book III. and ibid. Note 33.

which catches indiſcriminately any Rumor either falſe or true, and ſpreads it like an Infection from Man to Man till the Contagion becomes general; I ſay, whoever has conſidered this unfortunate Diſpoſition of the Dregs of our Species, will never be ſurpriz'd that any Falſhood, howſoever impoſſible it may ſeem, ſhould be receiv'd by that many-headed Monſter the People, for ever prepar'd, with open-mouth'd Expectation, to ſwallow every thing new and extraordinary. The Conſpirators having found the deſired Effect in this Story, invented another, which tho' equally falſe as the firſt, had at leaſt a greater Appearance of Probability.

Alcibiades (who, as was obſerv'd above [3], greatly delighted in the Doctrine of *Socrates*, however contrary his Life was frequently to theſe divine Precepts of Temperance, Chaſtity, and other Moral Virtues) having with a Rout of his Companions ſome Years before defac'd the public Statues of *Mercury*, and in a Mock Show acted over the [4] *Eleuſinian* Myſteries, for which he had himſelf been formerly cited to appear before a Court

[3] See above Book I. Vide Plutar. in vit. Alcib.

[4] The *Herald* was repreſented by one *Theodorus*, the *Torch-bearer* by *Polition*, and the *High Prieſt* by *Alcibiad.* himſelf. Vide Plut. invit. Alcibiad

of Juſtice, and for which Offence he was obliged to leave his Country and fly to *Sparta*; the Enemies of *Socrates* took this Opportunity to revive afreſh the Remembrance of this Diſgrace, that had been ſo long ago offered to theſe great *Deities*, and to attribute thoſe wild Actions of Debauchery to the Effect which his Diſcourſes and Innovations in Religion had had upon the Mind of that young Nobleman and his Fellows. This was bringing the Argument home to the very Boſoms of thoſe, who very juſtly may be called the Mob, let their Rank or Station of Life be what it will; this was at once liſting the Swarm of Bigots and Devotees from all Quarters into their Party. But how contrary was this to the Inſtructions he conſtantly gave his Diſciples, and to his own Conduct! who, tho' he tacitly diſapproved of the erroneous Worſhip of his Countrymen, and ſtrove by all lawful Means to divert them from their abominable Idolatries, he always regarded ſo much the Laws, and the Peace of Society dependent upon the Execution of them, that we find he was ever ſo far from openly interrupting their religious Ceremonies [s], that he would frequently with the greateſt

[s] See above Book I. and Xen. Mem. paſſim. There is a remarkable Inſtance in the *Phædrus* of *Plato*, of *Socrates*'s Caution

greateſt good Humor join externally in eſtabliſhed Cuſtoms, as he very well knew that Opinion can be conquered only by Reaſon, and not by the boiſterous Means of Force and Violence. Another Reaſon why *Socrates* did not oppoſe the Forms of theſe Inſtitutions, was, perhaps, becauſe he wiſely look'd back upon their original Deſign, and regarded them juſtly in that *allegorical* Light which was the real Intention of the Inventors of them [6]. And here it becomes ne-

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Caution to avoid giving Offence to weak Conſciences: The Philoſopher is deſcrib'd walking with *Phædrus* upon the Banks of the River *Ilyſſus*, where the Diſcourſe leading them to ſpeak of a religious Tradition about *Orithya*, the Daughter of *Erectheus* King of *Athens*, upon whom *Boreas* was ſaid to have committed a Rape, as ſhe was playing in that Place, *Socrates*, tho' he ingeniouſly explains the Foundation of the Fable in this manner, Σοφιζομενος φαιην αυτην πνευμα Βορεου κατ' των πλησιον πετρων συν φαρμακεια παιζουσαν ωσαι· καὶ ουτω δη τελευτησασαν, λεχθηναι υπο του Βορεου αναρπαστον γεγονεναι, η εξ Αριου παγου, [Plat. Phæd.] yet he avoids expatiating farther upon theſe Legends, by this beautiful Excuſe and Obſervation, εμοι δε προς ταυτα ουδαμως εστι σχολη. Το δε αιτιον, ω φιλη, τουτου τοδε· ου δυναμαι πω κατ' το Δελφικον γραμμα γνωμαι εμαυτον· Τελοιον δη μοι φαινεται, τουτο ετι αγνοουντα τα αλλοτρια σκοπειν. Plat. Phæd. p. 1211. Edit. Ficin.

[6] Mr. *Warburton* in his *Divine Legation*, p. 338, ſpeaking of the Allegory of ancient Fables, (under which all Moral and Divine Truths were repreſented by the *Egyptians*, from whom, as I am going to obſerve, the *Greeks* borrowed almoſt all their *Theology*, *Mythology*, and religious Rites, &c.) ſays, "The Philoſophers, I perſuade myſelf, invented and "revived this way of Interpretation, as at two different "Times, ſo on two different Occaſions. 1. The ancient

ceſſary to give a ſhort Account of the Riſe and Decline of the Religion of *Athens*.

The

" *Greek* Poets, the Repertories of *Pagan Mythology*, were " in the Number of their moſt reverenc'd Divines, and the " Writings of *Homer* a kind of ſacred Scripture: ſo that " the Abſurdity of the *Letter* beginning, as the Times grew " polite and inquiſitive, to abate the popular Veneration for " them; the Philoſophers, who thought the public Wor- " ſhip concern'd in their Support, *invented* this Method to " cover and ſecure their Reputation. 2. What theſe began " for the ſake of their Theologers, their Succeſſors conti- " nued for the ſake of their Theology. For when the Pro- " pagators of Chriſtianity ſet up, expoſing the Abſurdities of " vulgar Paganiſm, theſe Defenders of it ſeiz'd the way of Al- " legory to cover it from Ignominy.--The Opinion of the Ori- " gin of Fables, which ſuppoſes them the Corruption of Civil " Hiſtory, [*he ſhould have ſaid, and of that* ONLY] and con- " ſequently having their Foundation in real Facts, is un- " queſtionably true." I think I never met in two Paragraphs ſo many Contradictions to Truth, and the Voice of all Antiquity. He ſays the *Philoſophers* [i. e. the *Greek*] INVENTED *the allegorical Interpretations of the Fables, which were founded on real Facts, and afterwards reviv'd it to cover the Pagan Worſhip from Infamy*. Now 'tis obſerv'd by all ancient Authors in general, and agreed to by all Moderns except himſelf, that all the *Grecian Theology* was borrowed at firſt from the *Egyptians*, as *Proclus* in particular, that moſt learned and conſummate Commentator upon *Plato*, teſtifies; who ſpeaks of it as a Fact univerſally acknowledged, and never ſo much as doubted of till his Time: απασα γὰρ η παρ' Ελλησι θεολογια της ορφικης μυσαγωγιας εκγονος. Procl. in Pl. Th. c. 4. *Herodotus* confirms this; for ſpeaking of *Melampus*, who introduced the Worſhip of *Bacchus* into *Greece* from *Egypt*, he adds, Σχεδὸν δὲ παντα τα συμβαλα των θεων εξ Αιγυπτου ελαλυθε ες την Ελλαδα. Herod. Euterp. So his Aſſertion of its being *occaſionally invented* by the *Greeks* is apparently falſe; and his Account of the Origin is not better grounded: for tho' *ſome* Theological Fables indeed might be the Corruption of

true

The *Grecians* in the firſt Ages, like other Nations before they were civiliz'd, worſhiped thoſe Objects that were moſt apparently beneficial to them, ſuch as the Sun, Moon, Stars, the four Elements, &c. [7] but *Orpheus* and others of their *Legiſlators* and *Prieſts* travelling into *Egypt*, were initiated into the ſacred Myſteries celebrated in that Country, and upon their Return home introduced the *Egyptian Mythology* into *Greece*, and inſtituted Myſteries there in Imitation of

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true Hiſtory, yet the *Generality* of them were the *Inventions* of *Egyptian Legiſlators*, *Prieſts*, and *Myſtagogues*, who, according to the Genius of their Country, conceal'd all Moral and Divine Truths under thoſe fictitious Images; as may be ſeen at large in all the Ancients, who are unanimous upon this Subject. Nay, even thoſe Mythological Stories, which were in ſome meaſure grounded upon real Facts, were no otherwiſe adopted into their Theology than as Vehicles of hierarchical Knowledge, and not corrupted by *Chance*, but by *Deſign*, in order to bring them into ſuch Shape, as was altogether ſubſervient to their Religion and Politics. Thus metamorphos'd, they became as much the Repoſitories of myſtical Science as the very invented Fables themſelves. What Mr. *Warburton* is endeavouring to prove is this: *That the Pagan Theology was compos'd of an indigeſted Heap of idle Legends, caſually thrown together without any Deſign or Meaning; till thoſe who lived by the gainful Trade of Prieſtcraft, were neceſſitated, in more diſcerning Ages, to allegorize them, as well as they could, into Syſtems of Theology and Morality.* But let me aſk him then, how came theſe Syſtems ſo regular, and to depend like a Chain one upon another? Sure he won't allow it to be a Miracle, for that would be giving a Sanction to Paganiſm; and it can be ſolv'd no other way by his Hypotheſis.

[7] Vide Platonis Cratylum.

of thoſe they had ſeen in that Mother Land of *Gentile Theology*. This Religion analys'd into its firſt Principle, and abſtracted from the Legends and Fables in which it is envelop'd, was the Worſhip of ONE *uncreated* GOD, whom they looked upon to be the CREATOR of all Things, who was from and would remain in the ſame State to Eternity; omniſcient, omnipotent, omnipreſent, all-perfect; governing the Univerſe in the pureſt Spirit of Benevolence, for the Welfare of all Beings, by the different and various Powers of his great Subſtitute NATURE. Theſe *Attributes*, and the great and innumerable Means by which he effected his divine Will, were ſet forth in *myſtical* Fables, and *perſonaliz'd* under different Shapes and Characters, according to their reſpective and proper Qualities; which being thus *figuratively* expos'd to the Vulgar, were by the ſimple-minded Multitude underſtood *literally*, and received with implicit Faith [s]. The *Politicians* and *Prieſts* after-

[s] The vulgar *Egyptians* ſo far miſtook the Meaning of their Prieſts, that they not only paid Adoration to theſe *perſonaliz'd Repreſentations* of the *Attributes* of the true GOD as ſo many *diſtinct Deities*, but in Time even worſhiped the very *Symbols* of the Powers of NATURE. Thus an Onion, being the Symbol in their Temples of the planetary Syſtem, from having ſeven Folds one within another, anſwerable to the Orbits of the Planets, was by the ignorant Multitude revered

afterwards finding their Advantage in this Miſtake and Credulity, converted the wiſe and good Intentions of their Predeceſſors, into the baſe Means of acquiring Power and Profit for themſelves; and confirmed the Error by repeated Aſſurances of the Veracity of ſuch Fables, concealing the Origin and End of them from all but their own Fraternity. This Religion therefore in itſelf was, as far as the Light of Nature will admit, pure and undefiled; but proſtituted at firſt by the *Egyptian*, and afterwards by the *Grecian* Prieſts, to the baſe End of uſurping an uncontrouled, arbitrary, and the worſt of tyrannical Dominion over their Fellow Creatures.

In this Condition *Socrates* found the eſtabliſhed Religion of the *Athenians*, which he

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vered as ſomething which had Divinity in it. Upon which the *Roman* Satiriſt (who perhaps was as little acquainted with the Origin of this Root-worſhip as the People themſelves whom he ridicules) cries out,

O ſanctas gentes, quibus hæc naſcuntur in hortis
Numina! Juv. Sat. 15.

The Prieſts diſhoneſtly improving upon this ſuperſtitious Infatuation, daily increaſed their Number of *hieroglyphical Figures, Types*, and *Symbols*, which being worſhiped as ſo many *diſtinct Deities*, augmented the Number of Temples, and conſequently the various Orders of Prieſthood, till the whole Country was at laſt ſwallowed up in the *Hierarchy*. In like manner the *Grecians*, imitating their *Egyptian* Maſters, rais'd Temples to every Faculty of the human Mind, whoſe Altars continually ſmok'd with the Sacrifices and Offerings of their deluded Votaries.

he did not ſo much deſire to *deſtroy*, as to *reform* and *reſtore* to its primitive Purity and Deſign. And here perhaps it may be aſked, that as *Socrates* comply'd thus often externally with the ſuperſtitious Rites of his Country, to avoid diſturbing the public Peace, why he would never be initiated into the ſacred Myſteries at *Eleuſis*, which were regarded as the greateſt and moſt holy Inſtitutions of *Polytheiſm*? The Reaſon of ſuch a peculiar Refuſal was this: The *greater* of theſe *Eleuſinian Myſteries*, (for the *leſſer* were nothing more than Exhibitions of public Shows to the People) into which none were initiated but ſuch as were of experienced Wiſdom and Virtue, or others whom for political Ends it was neceſſary to introduce into this grand Secret, were originally inſtituted, and ſtill continued, to explain the whole Deſign and true Meaning of all *Pagan Theology*, wherein, as ſhall be proved at large in the Note below [9], the Initiates were inſtructed

9 Above in the Text, where this Note is referred to, I propoſed to explain and demonſtrate what theſe Repreſentations were; but firſt let us know the Origin. *Diodorus Siculus* in his firſt Book informs us, that ſuch ſacred Myſteries (as well as all other *ſymbolical Repreſentations* of the DEITY) were firſt *invented* by the *Egyptians* in Honor of *Iſis* and *Oſiris*, wherein the great CREATOR of the Univerſe was ſignified by *Oſiris*, and NATURE his *Subſtitute* by the other Appellation *Iſis*. And that this was the real Interpretation, we may

ſtructed in the *Unity* of the DEITY, and taught that thoſe various *ſcenical Repreſentations* in the *leſſer Myſteries* were *typical* Deſcriptions of his *many Attributes*, and *hiſtorical Pictures* of the principal Powers of NATURE, ſubſervient to his all-directing Wiſdom.

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may learn from that moſt conſummate Maſter of all *Pagan* Learning and Theology, *Apuleius*. In his Addreſs to *Iſis*, he makes *particular* and *diſtinct* Uſe of theſe *phyſical* Expreſſions, which are applicable only to NATURE: "Tu "rotas orbem, illuminas ſolem, regis mundum, tibi reſpon- "dent ſidera, gaudent numina, redeunt tempora, ſerviunt ele- "menta: tuo nutu ſpirant flamina, nutriunt nubila, germi- "nant ſemina, creſcunt gramina." Then afterwards in his Deſcription of *Oſiris*, (i. e. the DEITY) he uſes theſe *moral* Appellations, in Contradiſtinction to the other: "Deus deum "magnorum potentior, et magnorum ſummus, et ſummo- "rum maximus, et maximorum regnator *Oſiris*." Apul. Metam. lib. 11. Then in his farther Addreſſes to NATURE, he recapitulates the different Places where ſhe was, and the different Names by which ſhe was, thus *figuratively* worſhiped in the *Myſteries* of ſeveral Countries, all which had the ſame great Original and End: "Regina cœli, ſive tu *Ceres* "alma frugum parens originalis, quæ repertu lætata filiæ, "veſculæ glandis ferino remoto pabulo, miti commonſtrato "cibo, nunc *Eleuſiniam* glebam percolis; ſeu tu cœleſtis *Ve-* "*nus*, quæ primis rerum exordiis ſexuum diverſitatem gene- "rato amore ſociaſti, et æterna ſobole humano genere pro- "pagato, nunc circumfluo *Paphi* ſacrario coleris; ſeu *Phœbi* "*Soror*, quæ partu fœtarum medelis lenientibus recreato, "populos tantos educaſti, præclariſque nunc veneraris delu- "bris *Epheſi*; ſeu nocturnis ululatibus horrenda *Proſerpina* "*triformi facie* larvales impetus comprimens, terræque clau- "ſtra cohibens, *lucos diverſos inerrans*, VARIO CULTU pro- "pitiaris, &c." Apul. Metam. lib. 11. For a more particular Account of the *Egyptian Theology*, &c. I refer the Reader to the learned Mr. *Jackſon*'s Explanation of the Philoſophers Belief of a future State, &c.

Wiſdom. Now as *Socrates* taught his Diſciples the ſame Doctrine (i. e. the *Unity* of the DEITY) as was *myſtically* ſhadowed forth in the *leſſer*, and fully explain'd in the *greater Myſteries* at *Eleuſis*, he would never be initiated into theſe Ceremonies, that his Enemies might not have a Pretence of accuſing him of divulging the grand Secret, a Crime always puniſhable with Death, which they could not do *directly*, whilſt he was uninitiated. However the Sequel plainly evinces, that whatever was the Pretext, this was the Cauſe of his being brought to a Puniſhment inflicted upon the greateſt Criminals, *viz.* his Doctrine of the *Unity* of the DEITY, and a more rational Account of a Retribution of future Rewards and Puniſhments; which, if it had been publicly and univerſally taught to the People, (as they feared in Time it might, by the mighty Progreſs it already had made) would have totally deſtroyed the lucrative Employment of thoſe ſacerdotal Impoſtors. Now to return.

The Conſpirators having ſpread abroad theſe Reports, ſo detrimental at that Time in the Eyes of the *Athenians* to the Character of *Socrates*, and having by theſe Means ſufficiently prepar'd the People for the Reception of any future Calumny, *Melitus*, according to the Cuſtom of *Athens*, laid his Accuſation in Form before the Magiſtrates,

giſtrates, who thereupon having given proper Notice to the People, the Court of *Heliæa* [10] was ſummoned, and the uſual Number of Citizens appointed by Lot for that Purpoſe, to ſit there as Judges of the Caſe.

As ſoon as the Friends of *Socrates* heard of theſe Proceedings, they immediately came to acquaint him with the Malice of his Adverſaries, ſome [11] bringing ſtudied Orations for his Defence, and others adviſing him to compoſe ſomething himſelf in Anſwer to their Calumnies; to which he replied with the greateſt Compoſure of Mind, "I have "never done any Ill in my Life, and I look "upon that to be the moſt beautiful De"fence I can make [12];" adding, "perhaps "GOD himſelf out of his abundant Good"neſs has done this for me, that I ſhould "finiſh my Life not only at a proper Age, "but

[10] A Court ſo called from its being open to the Air, απο τυ Ηλιυ, which was compoſed moſt uſually of two, or five hundred, ſometimes more. Monſ. *Rollin* miſtakes this Court for that of the *five hundred*; but he was led into this Error, I ſuppoſe, by the ſimilar Number of Citizens that ſometimes ſate in both. Now *Socrates* plainly ſays, in *Plato's Apology*, that he never was in that Court [i. e. *Heliæa*] before, whereas he was a Member of the Council of *five hundred* when the *Arginuſian* Generals were condemned.

[11] *Lyſias*. Vide Cicer. de Orat. lib. 1. Diog. Laert. in vit. Socr. Quinct. xi. 1. & 11, 15. Val. Max. vi. 4.

[12] Ουδεν αδικον διαλημμα ποιων, ημερ νομιζω μελετην ειναι καλλιστην απολογιας. Xen. Socr. Defenſ.

" but by the moſt eaſy Method too [13]." What a noble Inſtance of Magnanimity, and the Force of true Religion! to look upon what is regarded generally with the utmoſt Terror, as the greateſt Bleſſing, when conducive to the Deſigns of the infinitely good and wiſe CREATOR of all Things!

When the Day appointed by a public Proclamation for the Tryal was come, he came before the Tribunal, not with the abject Appearance of a Criminal, but with the Dignity of a Magiſtrate that was about to preſide in the Aſſembly; and this Conduct proceeded not from Pride, but the Greatneſs and real Worth of his Soul [14]; for Innocence fortifies the Breaſt with a Reſolution, which the Force of human Terrors can never deſtroy. The Judges being ſeated, the Accuſation laid againſt him was read: " 1ſt, That he pry'd with an irreli-
" gious Curioſity into what paſs'd in the
" Heavens and the Bowels of the Earth;
" that he denied *the Gods of his Country*,
" and boaſted to be inſpired by an *unknown*
" *God*, or rather that he owned no God
" at all [15]. 2dly, That he corrupted the
" Youth,

[13] Ibid.

[14] " Adhibuitque liberam contumaciam a magnitudine
" animi ductam, non a ſuperbia." Cic. Tuſc. Quæſt. lib. 1.

[15] Plat Apol.

" Youth, by teaching them to deſpiſe the " Laws, and the *Manner* of electing Ma- " giſtrates, and thereby rendered them vio- " lent Diſturbers of the public Peace [16]." In this Place it will be proper to diſtinguiſh what Part of the Charge was true, for which his ungrateful Country condemn'd him, and for which his Memory has been ſo juſtly rever'd thro' all ſucceeding Ages; and which was the malicious Calumny of his Accuſers. Firſt then, " that he diſ- " own'd the *Gods of his Country*, and con- " feſs'd an unknown God," is manifeſt; for in acknowledging this Truth before the Judges, he ſays, To deny it, or even to be ſilent, would be *to diſobey* God [17]: and ſecondly, his Diſapprobation of the *Manner* in chuſing the Magiſtrates by Lot is as apparent; " For (ſays he, ſpeaking upon this Subject) " when you want a Pilot, a Smith, " or a Muſician, you don't accept of them " as they come by *Chance*; and ſurely the " Miſcarriage of ſuch as theſe would be " of much leſs Detriment than Male-admi- " niſtration in Government [18]." But as to

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[16] Xen. Mem. lib. 1.

[17] Τῳ Θεῳ πειθεσθαι. Plat. Apol. Here he uſes the ſingular Number particularly, to indicate his Faith in God, the only Creator and Governor of the Univerſe, in Contradiſtinction to the *vulgar* Notions of *Polytheiſm*.

[18] Xenoph. Mem. lib. 1. This Declaration made all thoſe become his Perſecutors, whoſe Want of Virtue and Abilities

that Part of the Charge, of *denying the Exiſtence of a God*, was a Calumny we find which even his Enemies themſelves contradicted in the very Accuſation, and was ſo great and apparent an Abſurdity, that I have often been ſurpriz'd that the Groſſneſs of this one Imputation did not open the Eyes of the Judges, and overthrow the Validity of all the Indictment. How blind are the Eyes of the Underſtanding, when inflam'd by the feveriſh Zeal of falſe Religion! Nor was the Aſperſion of *his corrupting the Youth* leſs flagrantly unjuſt; for as his great Diſciple *Xenophon* obſerves, after he has enumerated his unequall'd Virtues, "How "could ſuch a Man corrupt Youth, except "the Study of Virtue itſelf ſhould be "thought Corruption [19]?" Here the noble Writer ſeems to hint, that the Offence which he gave to thoſe who conſpired againſt him, was not *corrupting the Morals of Youth*, but *correcting their falſe Opinions in civil and religious Affairs*; for the Virtue *Socrates* inculcated and impreſs'd upon their Minds, was

Abilities would for ever have excluded them from the Profits and Power of Magiſtracy, had not this Method of Election by Lot given them an equal Share in the Government with the moſt deſerving.

[19] Πως αν ην ο τοιουτος ανηρ Διαφθειρων τους Νεους, ει μη αρα της αρετης επιμελεια Διαφθορα εστιν. Xen. Mem. lib. 1.

was more odious to the *Hierarchy* and Magiſtracy than the moſt pernicious Vice itſelf; becauſe it tended to free Mankind from the Tyranny they had united to exerciſe over them. When *Socrates* therefore had made an Anſwer to every Particular, as was the Cuſtom in judicial Proceedings, and confuted the Accuſers even by their own Confeſſions, which may be ſeen at large in the *Apology* of the divine *Plato*, he concluded in the following Manner: "I don't think it right, "O *Athenians*, to ſupplicate a Judge, or "to be pardon'd by ſuch a Supplication, "but to convince and perſuade him by "Reaſon. For a Judge does not ſit here to "be partial to whom he pleaſes, but to de-"cide according to Law and Equity, and "that he takes an Oath to perform. We "who are accus'd, therefore, ought not on "one hand to accuſtom you to break that "Oath, and you on the other ought not to "permit ſuch Endeavors. For neither "you nor we in ſuch a caſe would act "juſtly and religiouſly. Don't expect me "therefore, O *Athenians*, to do thoſe "Things which I look upon to be neither "*creditable*, *juſt*, or *pious*, eſpecially as I "am accuſed by this *Melitus* of Impiety; "for ſhould I by my Prayers render you "guilty of Perjury, 'twould be ſufficient "Evidence that I taught you to believe that "there were *no Gods*, and by this manner

" of Defence I ſhould convict myſelf of " *Atheiſm* [20]. But that is far from being " the Caſe, for I believe there is a GOD " more than any of my Accuſers do [21], and " I reſign myſelf to you and to GOD [22], to " judge and diſpoſe of me, as it ſhall be beſt " both for yourſelves and me [23]."

When he had done ſpeaking, it was put to the Vote whether he was guilty or not, and upon collecting the Beans he was convicted by a Majority of thirty-three Voices. There was a Law at *Athens*, that when any one

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[20] This correſponds to his whole Doctrine, by inſinuating that whoever endeavors to commit Injuſtice, *practically* denies the *Being* of a *God*; for whoever is convinced of GOD's Exiſtence, would ſurely never be guilty of what muſt neceſſarily be oppoſite to his Pleaſure.

[21] *Socrates* juſtly inſiſted, that he believed more in the *Exiſtence* of a *divine Power* than any of his Accuſers, becauſe he had a proper Idea of ſuch a Being, and theirs was groſly erroneous. But the *Athenians* (i. e. the Mob of them) fooliſhly imagined, that whoever did not believe in *their Gods*, believed in *no God at all*. Such has been the charitable Interpretation of Bigotry and Superſtition in all Ages! The ſacred Cheats of the Church of *Rome* in like manner teach at this Day, and the fond adoring Herd as implicitly give faith to the ſame Doctrine; and whomever their *fable Tyrant* anathematizes for want of Credulity in his holy Trumpery, the motley Mobs of juggling Prieſts, and the deceived Laity, raiſe the Cry of *Atheiſt* againſt, and perſecute with all that pious Bitterneſs peculiar to the Breaſts of thoſe whom falſe Religion inſpires.

[22] In this Place, where he is particularly confeſſing his Faith, he again uſes the ſingular Number in the Word Θεὸς, and not Θεοὶ.

[23] Plat. Apol.

one was found guilty upon his Tryal, he ſhould confirm the Equity of his Sentence, or more properly make his Acknowledgment, by condemning himſelf to one of theſe Puniſhments, a Fine, perpetual Impriſonment, or Baniſhment; but *Socrates*, when it came to this Part of the Ceremony, abſolutely refus'd to comply with this Acknowledgment of Guilt, but with a Dignity becoming his Wiſdom and Innocence, told his Judges, that if he muſt ſentence himſelf to any thing, it ſhould be to be maintained in the *Pyrtaneum* [24] at the Charge of the Republic all the reſt of his Life, for the Service he already had done to the Commonwealth. However, that his Refuſal might not hereafter be a bad Precedent to others, and as he was always a ſtrict and religious Obſerver of the Laws of his Country, he comply'd, after having ſufficiently indicated this his laudable Reaſon for ſo doing, and fin'd himſelf thirty Minæ, as *Plato* [25] mentions who was preſent in the Court, and offer'd to give Security for the Payment of the Money, together with *Crito*, *Critobulus*, and *Apollodorus*.

[24] The *Prytaneum* was a magnificent Building, where the Council of the *Prytanes* aſſembled, and where thoſe who had done any ſignal Service to the State were maintained at the public Expence.

[25] Plat. Apol.

This Part of the Ceremony being over, the Judges who gave their Voices for his Conviction, having conſulted a little what they ſhould pronounce to be his Puniſhment, ſentenc'd him to die by the Draught of Hemlock. As ſoon as their Determination had been read openly in the Court, which was made in a very ſhort Time, thro' the implacable Malice of his Enemies, *Socrates* reſum'd his Speech as follows: "You have been very expeditious, O *Athe-*
"*nians*, in giving this Sentence, and there-
"by afford a Cauſe for Complaint to thoſe
"who are willing to calumniate your City
"for murdering that wiſe Man *Socrates*;
"for they will call me wiſe, tho' I am not
"ſo, that they may caſt a greater Re-
"proach upon you. If you had waited a
"little Time, I ſhould have died by the
"Courſe of Nature. You ſee the greateſt
"Part of my Life is ſpent, and draws near
"to the Confines of Death. This, how-
"ever, I don't addreſs to all my Judges,
"but to thoſe alone who voted for my
"Condemnation; and 'tis to them I apply
"what follows. You imagine perhaps that
"I am convicted for want of ſuch Words,
"which I ſhould have made uſe of to ſup-
"plicate you, if I had thought it becoming
"me to do *any thing whatſoever* to avoid
"this Puniſhment: but herein you are
"greatly miſtaken: for tho' I am convict-
"ed,

" ed, 'tis true, for want, yet 'tis not of " Abilities to plead in this manner, but of " Impudence and Effrontery, and becauſe " I would not ſay thoſe Things which in " ſuch Caſes you are delighted to hear [26]. " For groaning and weeping, and many " other abject Proceedings which you are " accuſtomed to ſee in others, are, as I ob- " ſerv'd, intirely unworthy of me. And " as at firſt I thought it baſe to do a mean " thing on account of Danger, ſo even now " I don't repent having acted in this man- " ner; and I had much rather chuſe to die " uſing ſuch a Defence, than live by the Pro- " ſecution of contrary Meaſures. For neither " in a Court of Juſtice, nor in War, ought " I or any one elſe to do *whatſoever* is in " our Power to perform to eſcape Death. For " it frequently happens in military Engage- " ments, that a Man may ſave his Life by " throwing down his Arms, and turning to " his Purſuers for Mercy [27]. And there

 " are

[26] As Judges they expected to be intreated with Tears and Prayers by every Offender, or accuſed Perſon. But the Behavior of *Socrates*, founded upon the invariable Principles of Juſtice, being quite oppoſite to this poor mean-ſpirited Practice, they look'd upon it as a Contempt of their Power, and an Inſult upon their Office.

[27] Among the Ancients, nothing was ſo great a Diſgrace to a Soldier as to have thrown down his Arms, or to have left his Shield in the Field of Battle; to which *Horace* alludes, lib. 2. od. 7. *et celerem fugam ſenſi, relictâ non bene parmulâ*; for the latter always imply'd the former.

" are many Expedients in every Danger by " which Death may be avoided by thoſe, " who are not aſham'd to do and ſay *any* " *thing* to attain that End. It is not the " difficulteſt Matter to eſcape Death, O " *Athenians*, but to eſcape *Infamy* is much " more ſo, which is far the ſwifteſt of the " two [28]. And accordingly I that am ſlow " and old am overtaken by the more tardy, " whilſt my Accuſers who are young, vi- " gorous, and active, are in like manner " by the more expeditious one, *Infamy*. " Thus am I now going to ſuffer Death by " your Condemnation, and they to under- " go Diſgrace and Infamy by the Condem- " nation and Judgment of Truth [26], I " am

[28] Theſe *metaphorical* Alluſions and *allegorical Perſonages* give the Energy and Life to the Compoſitions of *Plato*, which have been admir'd thro' ſo many Ages. The *Proſopopeia*, the moſt beautiful Figure in Poetry, founded on the *moral Senſe*, is frequently uſed in almoſt every Dialogue; which repreſenting the *Affections* and *Modes* of the Mind as *Perſons*, brings the very Images of them before our Eyes, and convinces the Reaſon even thro' the Senſes; for in this Light, as *Horace* obſerves in another Affair, theſe Things are *oculis ſubjecta fidelibus*. The ſacred Penmen delight in this Imagery, " who (to uſe the Expreſſions of a very ingenious Author) " repreſent *Juſtice* and *Judgment* as ſupporting the " ALMIGHTY's Throne, and *Mercy* and *Truth* going before " his Face: they ſhew us *Peace* as ſpringing up from the " Earth, and *Mercy* looking down from Heaven." See *Hutcheſon*'s Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of Good and Beauty.

[29] *Maximus Tyrius* borrowed his Obſervation from this Paſſage above: Σωκρατης απεθνησκεν (ſays he) Αθηναιοις

" am very well ſatisfied with my Sentence,
" and ſo are they with theirs. Thus theſe
" Things are perhaps as they ought to be;
" and for my own Part I think the Deſtina-
" tion of them very proper. In the next
" place, I have a mind to propheſy to you
" who have condemn'd me, for I am now
" arriv'd at that State, when Men generally
" are moſt enabled to foretel future Events,
" by being upon the Brink of quitting this
" Life, and looking as it were into the
" Book of Fate [30]. I tell you then, O
" *Athenians*, that if you put me to Death,
" a more heavy Puniſhment ſhall fall upon
" you immediately after my Deceaſe than
" what you now inflict upon me [31]. You
" do

δε κατεδι αξιος, Δικαιης δε ην αυτοις Θεος ϗ Αληθεια. Diſſert. 39.

[30] As he in this Place (as is ſufficiently indicated in the Text) is ſpeaking only to thoſe of the Judges who condemned him, and conſequently ſuch as were ſtill ſtrongly attached to their Country's Superſtitions, he applies and adapts his Diſcourſe accordingly; and in order to give a Sanction to his Prediction, of what he thought muſt neceſſarily be the Conſequence of that general Depravity which reign'd thro' the State, he gave it the Air of a Prophecy by alluding to the vulgar Opinion, that thoſe who were departing this Life could foretel future Events, as taught by their Poets. Thus *Homer* in Iliad 22. makes *Hector* at the Point of Death, conformable to the Gift which dying Perſons were ſuppoſed to be poſſeſs'd of, propheſy to *Achilles*:

Τον δε καταθνησκων προσεειπεν———
Η σ'ευ γινωσκων προτιοσομαι.

[31] This Prediction was verified by a Succeſſion of Miſfortunes that fell upon *Athens*, from this *Æra* down to the total

" do this, imagining to free yourſelves from " giving an Account of your Lives; but " I tell you beforehand, that in this you " will not accompliſh your Deſires. Many " others will ariſe to cenſure you, whom " I, tho' you don't perceive it, at preſent " reſtrain. And as they are younger than " me, they will prove more troubleſome, " and you will feel their Reproofs in a " more diſagreeable manner. If you think " that deſtroying ſuch Perſons is an ef- " fectual way to free yourſelves from the " Cenſure that follows an ill-ſpent Life, " you make a very wrong Judgment, for " this Method is impracticable as well as " diſhoneſt; but another, which is moſt " laudable as well as eaſy to be purſued, " lies open to you, and that is, not to make " away with others who reproach you for " bad Conduct; but to amend your Lives, " and put it out of their Power to give " you this Uneaſineſs [32]. Thus much and " no

total Deſtruction of the Glory of that City. This ſhews the remarkable Honeſty of his Diſciples, who would not take Advantage of the falling out of theſe Events, (which *Socrates* foreſaw muſt be the *natural* Effect of the Corruption of *Athens*) nor attributed the Force of human Wiſdom to the *divine Powers* of Prophecy. By which Impoſture they had an opportunity, if they would have us'd it, of aggrandizing themſelves with the ſilly credulous Populace, and deifying their Maſter.

[32] This was a Precept which would have been not only of infinite Service to Heathens, but, if it had been rightly attended

" no more I have to ſay to thoſe who have
" voted for my Condemnation.

" As for you who have given your Voices
" to acquit me, I would gladly diſcourſe
" with you about theſe Affairs, whilſt the
" Magiſtrates are employ'd until I go to the
" Place where I muſt ſuffer Death. Stay
" with me therefore, my Friends, during
" that Time, for nothing hinders us, whilſt
" that laſts, to [33] confabulate together. I
" am deſirous then of ſhewing you as
" Friends

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attended to and obſerved by many who have abuſed our moſt holy Religion by calling themſelves Members of it, would have ſav'd the Blood of Millions, who have fallen a Sacrifice to the ſavage Enthuſiaſm of thoſe inhuman Believers. For a Proof of this ſee the Hiſtories of *Italy*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Germany*, *France*, I wiſh I could not ſay formerly *England*, and every Country where Popery has been predominant. One would almoſt imagine that the cruel Authors of theſe holy Maſſacres we read of, underſtood literally what our Lord propheſied in a remote Senſe: " Think not that I am come " to ſend Peace on Earth: I came not to ſend Peace but a " Sword." Matt. x. 34. For otherwiſe, how could they act ſo contrary to the Example of him who conſtantly practis'd and taught Sobriety, Forbearance, Humility, Mercy, Peace, and above all, what comprehends every active Virtue of human Nature, *univerſal* CHARITY?

[33] 'Tis very obſervable, that *Socrates* uſed the Word Διαμυθολογησαι (which I have tranſlated accordingly to *confabulate*) not caſually, but preferably to any other, on purpoſe (as he ſpoke in the open Court, and conſequently was heard by the Multitude, tho' he did addreſs his Diſcourſe *particularly* to his Friends) that he might deride the Stupidity of thoſe who treated his Notions as fabulous, by uſing ironically the very Expreſſion which his Enemies would have done had they ſpoke of his Doctrines.

" Friends what has juſt now happen'd to
" me, and what is the Meaning of it. For,
" O my Judges, (and in calling you ſo I uſe
" a right Appellation) ſomething has hap-
" pened to me which indeed is wonderful,
" and this is it: That *divine Impulſe* [34]
" which attends me, and has heretofore
" upon the ſlighteſt Occaſions diverted me
" from doing what I was about to put in
" Execution, that really was not proper for
" me to do, has not this Day given me any
" Sign to deſiſt, either when I came out
" from home, when I entered into the
" Court, nor when I was about to plead,
" altho' ſuch Things have happen'd to me,
" as you ſee, which are generally account-
" ed the moſt calamitous in Life. And
" notwithſtanding it us'd formerly to ſtop
" me frequently in the very middle of my
" Speech, yet it has not in this Affair been
" any Impediment to me either in my
" Words or Actions. I will tell you there-
" fore what I take to be the Cauſe of ſuch
" an Omiſſion: It appears to me that what
" I am about to undergo is a very great
" Good, for certainly we judge very wrong
" who

[34] For an Explanation of what he meant by this Dæmon, as he commonly call'd this *internal Impulſe* of the Soul, ſee above Book III. and Notes ibid. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21.

" who look upon Death as an Evil; and
" what convinces me of it is, that if what
" I was about this Day had not been proper,
" I ſhould have perceived within me the
" *uſual Sign* to have deſiſted from the Un-
" dertaking. However, let us conſider the
" Matter in this manner, and we ſhall find,
" that our Hope of Death's being a real
" Good is well grounded. Death muſt
" neceſſarily be one of theſe two Things;
" either a total Deſtruction of all Senſation,
" or a Paſſage of the Soul from one Place
" to another. If it is a Privation of all
" Senſe, and, as it were, a Sleep undiſturb'd
" by Dreams, then to die is a Change for
" the better. And I am of Opinion, that
" if any one, after having paſs'd a Night
" in ſuch Eaſe and Tranquility without
" even the Appearance of a Dream, ſhould
" compare all the Days and Nights of his
" Life with this one, and be obliged to de-
" clare truly how many of thoſe Days and
" Nights he would prefer to it, I verily
" believe that not only every private Man,
" but even the *Great King* [35] himſelf would
" confeſs that none were preferable to it.

" If

[35] The *Grecians* call'd the King of *Perſia* always the *Great King*.

" If this therefore is the State, I call it a " great Gain, for Eternity itſelf would ſeem " only as one Night. Now on the other " hand, if Death, according to the com- " mon Opinion, is a Paſſage for the Soul " into another Region, where thoſe who " die reſide, what can be a greater Good " than this is?" Here having explain'd, according to the vulgar Notions, the Happineſs which the Good enjoy in a future State, to converſe with *Demi-gods*, *Heroes* and *Sages*, he concluded in the following Manner: " For theſe Reaſons, O my " Judges, you ought to have good Hopes " concerning Death, and to be convinced " of this Truth, that no Evil can happen " to a good Man, either in this Life, or " that which is to come [16]. For his good " Actions are not overlook'd by the *Gods*.

" Nor

[16] Monſ. *Dacier*, in a Remark upon this Paſſage, falls into the following Blaſphemy: " Voila une confiance bien " payenne! *Socrate* ignoroit les funeſtes effects du peché, et " de la corruption des hommes, qui font que le plus juſte " doit trembler." How comes it to be Preſumption to think, that the Good ſhould not fear that any Evil could happen to them? Does not our holy Faith authoriſe us to do ſo? Don't we deny one of the Attributes of GOD in thinking otherwiſe? Wherefore then, as he ſays, ought the moſt juſt to tremble? What horrid Impiety muſt it be to imagine, that the DEITY is delighted with the *Fear* and *Trembling* of his Creatures!

" Nor have any of theſe Things which are
" fallen upon me, happen'd by Chance;
" for I am fully convinc'd it is better for
" me to die and be freed from my Labors.
" And for this Reaſon that *internal divine*
" *Impulſe*, which governs my Actions, has
" given me no Obſtructions in my Proceed-
" ings. Therefore I take nothing ill of
" thoſe that accus'd, or thoſe that con-
" demn'd me; tho' what they did was not
" done with ſuch an Intention, but with a
" malevolent Deſign to hurt me, which
" would afford me room to complain of
" them. This however I beg of them to
" do, [then addreſſing himſelf to all the
Judges together] " that when my Children
" grow up, if they ſhould trouble you as I
" have done, you would puniſh them in
" like manner; and if they ſhould prefer
" Riches, or any other Thing whatſoever,
" to Virtue, and think themſelves very con-
" ſiderable, when they are nothing, rebuke
" them as I have done you, for neglecting
" thoſe Things which deſerve their Atten-
" tion, and for looking upon themſelves to
" be what they by no means are. If you
" perform this Requeſt, both I and my
" Children ſhall receive from you what we
" deſerve. But now 'tis Time for us to
" retire, I to die, and you to live; but
" whether you or I are going to the better

" Office,

" Office, is unknown to all but GOD a-
" lone [37]."

Here we ſee the Sage meet Death, not with Fear as a *Dæmon* that was going to drag him to Tortures, but with a friendly Look of Pleaſure, as a welcome Guide that was kindly come to conduct him to the Regions of unalterable Happineſs; not repining at and reviling Mankind in general for the Corruption of a few, but chearfully ſubmitting to this Act of Injuſtice, rather than be inſtrumental in impairing the Laws of his Country, which, though in this Caſe miſapply'd, were, when rightly executed, he thought, ſubordinate to, and dependent upon, thoſe of that GREAT JUDGE who cannot err.

As they were leading him away to Priſon, many of his Friends and Diſciples met him, all weeping and complaining of the Cruelty

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[37] Plat. Apol. This Concluſion cannot by any means be conſtrued into Scepticiſm. The Meaning of this laſt Sentence (that GOD *alone* knew whether he or the *Atheniant* were going upon the better Errand) is, that GOD alone could know which of the two was beſt for the general Harmony of the Univerſe: for *Socrates* look'd upon himſelf and all other Beings bound by Duty, patiently, nay willingly to ſubmit to the Will of him who governs all Things as they ought to be. Therefore the ἀμεινον πραγμα was relative to the whole Creation, as if he had ſaid, that GOD *alone* could know which of theſe two Actions contributed moſt to the Welfare of it.

Cruelty ſhewn to their Maſter; but he with a chearful Countenance aſk'd them why they wept, adding, that he was condemn'd to die by Nature, even at his Birth. "If I "was ſnatch'd away by Death from a Scene "overflowing with Good, ſaid he, then "indeed there would be a Reaſon for "my Lamentations, and for theirs who "love me; but as I am hereby releas'd "from impending Miſery, I think you "ought to rejoice at my Welfare [38]." Among the reſt *Apollodorus*, one of his Diſciples, who loved him tenderly, tho', otherwiſe, as his Contemporaries aſſure us, a weak Man, came lamenting that *Socrates* was unjuſtly put to Death; "What, ſays *Socrates* ſmiling and laying his Hand upon his Head, "would you rather ſee me die "deſervedly than undeſervedly [39]?" When they had brought him to the Priſon, (from which Place, as *Seneca* ſays [40], all the uſual Ignominy was taken away by his Preſence) he was deliver'd over, according to Cuſtom, to the Officer of the Eleven Magiſtrates who had the Direction of all Capital Puniſhments. But on the Evening of his Con-

[38] Xenoph. Socr. Defenſ.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Carcerem intravit ignominiam ipſi loco detracturus. Sen. de Conſ.

demnation, the Prieſt of *Apollo* having crown'd the Poop of the ſacred Veſſel, which annually ſail'd with an Offering into the Iſland of *Delos* [41], as a Signal for its Departure, no Criminal being by the Laws of *Athens* to ſuffer during the Voyage, the Execution of *Socrates* was poſtponed till the Return of the Votaries. During the Time of his Confinement here, his Diſciples attended him with the moſt unſhaken Attachment.

In this Place *Plato* has laid the Scene of two of his fineſt Dialogues, *Crito*, and *Phædo*; and no doubt but his *Theban* Scholar *Cebes*, who is introduc'd in the latter of theſe two Dialogues together with his Friend and Countryman *Simias*, collected from theſe Diſcourſes of his dying Maſter, the Philoſophy which he has ſo beautifully interwoven in his *Mythological Picture of human Life* [42].

In

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[41] This Voyage was religiouſly performed every Year by the *Athenians*, according to a Vow made in the Time of *Ægeus*, by *Theſeus* his Son, which *Plutarch* fully relates in the Life of that Hero. This Voyage was called *Theoria*, the People who went with the Offering, *Theoroi*, and the Veſſel they ſail'd in, *Theoris*. As ſoon as the Prieſt had given the Signal for ſailing, the City was purified, nor was any Criminal put to Death during the Ceremony.

[42] This moſt beautiful picturesque Deſcription of Man, and the various Incidents of Life, the *Paſſions* and *Modes* of the

In this Interval *Socrates* employed himself in meditating and conversing on the Nature of Death, and the well-grounded Hopes of a glorious Futurity; and at other Times, when his Friends were not with him, he amus'd himself and relax'd his Mind with turning moral Fables into Verse, and composing a Hymn to *Apollo*[43]. Such was the Good-nature and Humanity of this great Man, that, tho' he fell a Sacrifice to the Superstition of an ungrateful idolatrous People, he chose rather to comply so far with their speculative Errors, than to raise any Insurrection or Disturbance in the State after his Death, by composing any thing in his last Hours in Contempt of their religious Opinions.

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the Mind, is deriv'd from that sacred Fountain of Wisdom; the same Figure [i. e. *Prosopopeia*] running thro' the whole Piece, which, as I have already remarked, [vide supra Note 28.] *Socrates* so greatly delighted in. In the Beginning the Soul is introduc'd, in a very poetical manner, as entering into Life, with several Fameles thronging about it. Αυται τοινυν (says he) ΔΟΞΑΙ, ϗ ΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑΙ ϗ ΗΔΟΝΑΙ καλουνται. Οταν ουν εισπορευηται ο οχλος, αναπηδωσιν αυται, ϗ συμπλεκονται προς εκαστον· ειτα απαγουσι αι μεν εις σωσεσθαι, αι δε εις το απολλυσθαι, δια την ΑΠΑΤΗΝ, απαγουσιν. Cebet. Tab.

[43] What became of these Pieces is uncertain, but 'tis agreed on by all hands that none of them remain'd after his Decease. Vide Diog. Laert. *Tully* observes rightly the same thing, but in more general Terms: "Cum ipse litteram (says he) *Socrates* nullam reliquisset." De Orat. lib. 3.

At the Expiration of about ſeven or eight and twenty Days, *Crito*, his favorite Diſciple, came early one Morning into the Priſon to acquaint him with the ill News, as he call'd it, of the ſacred Veſſel's being arriv'd at *Sunium*, not many Leagues from *Athens*, upon the Return of which he was to die. When *Crito* enter'd he fouud *Socrates*, to his no ſmall Aſtoniſhment, faſt aſleep; therefore being unwilling to diſturb him, he ſat by his Bed-ſide till he awaken'd. When *Socrates* awoke and found *Crito* ſitting by him ſo very early, (for it was before Day-break) he aſked him what brought him thither at that Hour; to which the other anſwering, that he was come to acquaint him that he muſt die on the Day following, he reply'd with the moſt undiſturb'd Countenance, " Let it be ſo, if " it is the Will of GOD; however, added " he, I imagine it won't be to-morrow, " for I've juſt had a very pleaſant Dream, " which informs me the contrary. Me- " thought a handſome Woman clad in " white came to me and ſaid,

" In three Days hence on *Phthia*'s fruitful
" Shore
" Thou ſhalt arrive [44]."

By

[44] Ηματι μεν τριτατω Φθιην ερισωλον ικοιο. Homer. Iliad. I. Mr. *Dacier* very juſtly calls the Gramarians to account

By the Citation of this Verſe from the ninth Book of *Homer*'s *Iliad*, where *Achilles* ſays to *Ulyſſes*, *If I have a proſperous Gale, I ſhall arrive in three Days at* Phthia, which was his native Country, *Socrates* gives *Crito* to underſtand, by the Relation of this fictitious [45] Dream, that he believed he ſhould not die till three Days were paſſed; repreſenting hereby at the ſame time this World as a foreign Country, wherein his Soul had only made a Journey, but was to return back to Heaven its Home from whence it came, and where it was to remain at laſt. What can be a greater Indication of the Tranquility of his Mind, than the Application of this Paſſage to himſelf? This however was a very unſatisfactory Reply to *Crito*, who came with a Deſign to perſuade his Maſter to eſcape Death by breaking Priſon; and to enforce his Perſuaſions repreſented his Execution ſo near at hand, which he falſely thought would

account for that fooliſh Piece of Nonſenſe, in looking upon φθιην as if it was derived from φθισις, which would alter the Senſe intirely. I ſuppoſe they did not remember this Line in *Homer*, otherwiſe they could not have been guilty of ſuch a Blunder.

[45] It is not to be ſuppoſed that *Socrates* did really dream ſuch a thing, 'twas only an ingenious Fiction, to give poor *Crito* ſome Comfort. And we may ſee by the Courſe of the Dialogue, that no other Meaning was laid upon it either, (vide Plat. Crit.) altho' it is not particularly explain'd ſo

have had the desired Effect upon him. This sincere Friend, however, still continued to urge every Argument he could think of, to prevail upon him to enter into his Design; for he had already gained over the Keeper, and taken every other Method necessary to put it into Execution. As he knew that *Socrates* had a tender Esteem for his Country, he first endeavored to convince him, that nothing could be more laudable than to prevent the *Athenians*, by this Escape, from imbruing their Hands in the Blood of the Innocent; he then represented in particular, the Calumnies that would necessarily be thrown upon his innocent Friends and Disciples, for not providing for his Safety; and lastly, when he had ineffectually appealed to the Man, he addressed his Discourse to the Father, by painting all the Calamities and Misfortunes that might fall upon his Children, when deprived of his parental Advice, Example, and Protection. To all which *Socrates* reply'd, "My dear *Crito*, your Care and Good-will "is very commendable, provided it agrees "with right Reason; but if it does not do "so, the worse it is in proportion to its "Influence. Therefore we ought to con-"sider whether this Thing is proper to "be done or not. For it has always been "my Practice to agree to none but those "Reasons, which upon a full Examination

" have ſeem'd to me to be the beſt [46], and " thoſe which I have hitherto profeſs'd, I " ſhall not now lay aſide, tho' theſe Miſ- " fortunes have fallen upon me; for they " appear to me in the ſame Light as they " have heretofore done, and I eſteem and " honor them as much as ever." Then having confuted theſe erroneous Opinions which the warm Benevolence of *Crito* had ſuggeſted to him, againſt the more vigorous Decrees of Civil Inſtitutions, *Socrates* continued his Argument in this manner: " We " ought not to do the leaſt Injuſtice to any " Man [you grant] tho' we ſuffer never ſo " much from him [47].——If we go from " hence without the Conſent of the City, " ſhall we not injure ſome People, and " thoſe too who by no means deſerve it?

 " Suppoſe

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[46] The ſame Reply he made to *Hermogenes* upon another Occaſion, *viz.* that *all his Life was ſpent in conſidering what was juſt and what was unjuſt, and that he regulated all his Actions accordingly, by purſuing the one and avoiding the other.* Οτι ουδεν αλλο ποιων διαγεγενηται η διασκοπων μεν τα τε δικαια, καὶ τα αδικα, πραττων δε τὰ δικαια, καὶ των αδικων απεχομενος. Xen. Mem. lib. 4.

[47] This Rule he kept inviolable thro' his whole Life both in private and public, never ſo much as returning Evil for Evil, tho' when it was conſiſtent even with Juſtice to do ſo; but endeavoring by all laudable Methods to make all Men his Friends. Οιδα γὰρ αει μαρτυρησεσθαι μοι (ſays he to thoſe who knew the Aſſertion to be true) οτι εγω ηδικηκα μεν ουδενα πωποτε ανθρωπων ουδε χειρω εποιησα, βελτιστους δε ποιειν επειρωμην αει τους εμοι συνοντας. Xen. Mem. lib. 4.

" Suppoſe then as we are eſcaping, or re-
" tiring from this Place, or whatever you
" call it, that the LAWS of the Republic
" ſhould addreſs themſelves to me in the
" following manner: *Tell us, O* Socrates,
" *what have you an Intention to do? Don't*
" *you know that by this Undertaking you de-*
" *ſtroy, as much as in your Power to do ſo,*
" *us the* LAWS *and the whole Commonwealth?*
" *For can you imagine that any City can*
" *ſubſiſt, where the Laws are not only with-*
" *out Force, but are deſpiſed and trampled*
" *upon by private Perſons?——What then is*
" *this Action of yours, but a Violation of the*
" *Laws of your Country?* [48] ——— [*Don't*
" *proceed therefore in it*] *but obey us, O* So-
" crates, *who have brought you up from*
" *your Infancy, nor prefer either your Friends,*
" *your Children, or any thing elſe whatever,*
" *to Juſtice; ſo that when you come into an-*
" *other Life, you may be able to vindicate*
" *yourſelf before your Judges there. But if*
" *you put in Execution what you are about*
" *to do, it will not be better either to you or*
" *yours, here or hereafter. If you die, you*
" *are*

[48] I have not tranſlated the whole Speech of the LAWS, as a great Part of it is a kind of a Recapitulation of the Argument, but only that Part which is moſt concluſive, and contains the Deſign of the whole; therefore thoſe Marks —— above denote where I have left out Part.

" *are injur'd not by the Laws but by Men;*
" *whereas if you eſcape in this baſe Manner,*
" *and retort the Injuſtice by breaking the*
" *Compact you have made with us, and in-*
" *juring ſo many innocent Perſons, we ſhall*
" *be implacable to you ſtill whilſt you remain*
" *in this Life, and when you go into the*
" *other, the* LAWS *there, who are our*
" *Siſters, ſhall by no means give you a fa-*
" *vorable Reception, as knowing that you en-*
" *deavor'd to ruin us as much as you was*
" *able.* Theſe Things methinks I hear, O
" my dear *Crito*, as the *Corybantes* [49] ima-
" gine they hear the ſacred Flutes; and theſe
" Words reſound ſo much in my Ears, that
" I am not able to hear any thing elſe.
" Then be eaſy, and let me acquieſce in
" my preſent Fate, ſince GOD conducts me
" to it. [50].

When he had done ſpeaking, *Crito* having nothing to object to theſe Reaſons, went away

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[49] The *Corybantes* were Prieſts of *Cybele*, who as ſoon as they heard the ſacred Flutes, uſed in their religious Ceremonies, were poſſeſſed with a divine Enthuſiaſm equal to Madneſs. Hence thoſe who were tranſported violently with any thing, were called *Corybantes*, which Expreſſion *Socrates* applies to himſelf in regard to Reaſon and Juſtice. Theſe Prieſts were called *Corybantes* (as *Diodorus Siculus* remarks) from *Corybas*, who firſt inſtituted the Worſhip of the Mother of the *Gods* in *Phrygia*. *Maximus Tyrius* ſpeaks thus of this religious Fury of the *Corybantes*: Φασι τους Κορυβαντιωντας, ηχειδαν αχουσωσιν αυλου, ενθουσιαν, &c. Diſſert. 22.

[50] Plat. Crit.

away very diſconſolate; for, as he lov'd his divine Maſter tenderly, the amiable Failings of Humanity prevailed a while over the Dictates even of the moſt perfect Philoſophy, and Grief took poſſeſſion of his Heart, whilſt Reaſon in vain interpoſed her Authority.

The End of the FOURTH BOOK.

THE

L.P. Boitard Inv.t et Sculp.t

THE

LIFE
OF
SOCRATES.

BOOK V.

UPON the Arrival of the ſacred Veſſel from *Delos*, all the Friends and Diſciples of *Socrates*, that were in the City, excepting *Plato* who was ſick [1], repaired to the Priſon to take their laſt Farewel of

[1] I have often regretted that *Plato* was not more explicit in this Place, and did not aſſign the Cauſe of his Sickneſs, which

of their dying Master. As they came very early in the Morning that they might have an Opportunity of conversing with him all the Day, they were detain'd some time at the Prison Door before they were admitted; for the Eleven Magistrates were then untying *Socrates*, according to the Laws of *Athens*, which decreed, that when a Criminal was by the final Orders of these Eleven doom'd to die, he was immediately releas'd from all manner of Bonds, as a Victim to Death [2].

As

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which in all Probability was the cruel Usage his divine Master received from his ungrateful Country. He only makes *Phædo* speak thus, Πλατων δε ησθενει. Perhaps he thought it would have been superfluous to have said upon what Account, imagining Humanity would suggest the Reason to every feeling Heart. I can't help taking notice of the very severe, tho' just Satire, he throws upon *Aristippus* and *Cleombrotus*; where, in speaking of those who were present at the Death of *Socrates*, he makes *Phædo* answer *Echecrates*, that ask'd whether these two (who in his Prosperity remarkably follow'd him) were likewise there, Ουδητα. Εν Αιγινη γε ελεγοντο ειναι. Plat. Phæd. This, tho' only a plain Denial of their Presence, was a very strong Reproach, because all those who were within any moderate Distance that ever attended his Discourses, came that Day to assist at his Death, except these two, who were at *Ægina*, a Place at the Entry of the *Athenian* Harbour. The Delicacy of *Plato* in this Expression is admirable; he does not positively say they were at *Ægina*, he only says ελεγοντο ειναι. However, 'tis very true that they were at that very Time feasting there, where *Aristippus* constantly lived in the most unbounded Enjoyment of all Pleasures. Vide Athen. Deipn. 12.

[2] Plat. Phæd. These Eleven Magistrates had all the Prisons under their Inspection, and put in Execution the Sentence of the Courts.

As ſoon as this Ceremony was performed, they were introduced by the Goaler into the Apartment [3] in which he was to ſuffer, where they found him unbound, with his Wife *Xantippe* [4] and his Children ſitting by him;

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[3] *Tully* ſays, *Socrates* was put to Death in the ſame Goal, (and perhaps Apartment) and drank out of the ſame Bowl which *Theramenes* did, who was condemned to the Hemlock by *Critias* and the reſt of the *Thirty Tyrants*, for not coming into their iniquitous Meaſures, of whom Mention is made above, Book III. Note 34. *Tully*'s Words are theſe: "Vadit in eundem carcerem, atque in eundem paucis poſt "annis ſyphum *Socrates*, eodem ſcelere judicum, quo tyran-"norum *Theramenes*." Tuſc. Quæſt. lib. 1. The different Behaviour of theſe two ſhall be conſidered in its proper Place. See below, Note 11.

[4] *Diogenes Laertius* ſays, *Socrates* had two Wives at two diſtinct Times; the firſt being *Xantippe*, and the ſecond *Myrto* the Daughter of *Ariſtides* ſurnamed the *Juſt*. This is evidently a Miſtake, for we find by this Paſſage of *Plato*, that *Xantippe* was alive at the Death of *Socrates*. "Others "will have it (ſays the ſame Author) that he married *Myrto* "firſt, and *Xantippe* afterwards, and many are of Opinion "that he had them both together; for when the *Athenians* "wanted to people their City again, very much exhauſted by "War and Peſtilence, they decreed that every Citizen, tho' "he could not properly have two *Wives*, might have Chil-"dren by another Woman, which *Socrates* came into as well "as the other *Athenians*." But as this idle Account is ſo contradictory to the general Character of his inviolable Chaſtity, and as this other Wife or Miſtreſs *Myrto* is never ſo much as once mentioned by his Contemporaries, whoſe Evidence for Fact I only rely on, it ought to be look'd upon as no more than one of the expletive Stories of that hear-ſay Tale-telling Writer. *Suidas* (good old Monk!) according to his uſual Taſte, copies this Nonſenſe, whom Monſ. *La Mothe le Vayer*, with more *Gallic* Complaiſance than Truth, obſequiouſly follows, and calls him "Autheur a ſon eſgard "ſans

him; who, as ſoon as ſhe ſaw them approach, cry'd out, "O *Socrates*, this is the "laſt Time you and your Friends will con-"verſe together." Upon this *Socrates* turning and looking upon *Crito*, deſired him to take her away, which was done accordingly. Then rubbing his Legs where the Chains, juſt before taken off by the Eleven Magiſtrates, had gall'd him, "What an "unaccountable thing (ſays he) does that "ſeem to be which Men call Pleaſure! "how congenial it is with Pain! (tho they "are

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"ſans reproche." But however, to ſet aſide theſe three Worthies, beyond all Diſpute, 'tis impoſſible almoſt that *Socrates* could marry a Daughter of *Ariſtides the Juſt*, who lived almoſt four Generations before him. This Contradiction to true Chronology *Athenæus* was aware of, and being unwilling to loſe, as he thought, ſo good a Story endeavors to rectify the Miſtake, by ſaying, that this *Myrto* was not the Daughter of *Ariſtides the Juſt*, but the Daughter of *Ariſtides* his Grandſon, and conſequently Great Grand-Daughter of *Ariſtides the Juſt*. Την Αριστειδου Μυρτω ου του δικαιου καλουμενου (οι χρονοι γαρ ου συνχωρουσιν) αλλα του τριτου απ' εκεινου. Deipn. lib. 13. The Authors who ſpeak of his having married *Myrto*, he informs us, are *Calliſthenes*, *Demetrius Phalereus*, *Saturnus* a *Peripatetic*, and that infamous Fellow *Ariſtoxenus*, all of whom had this Account from a Book neither now nor even then extant, *ſuppos'd* to be written by *Ariſtotle*. Surely nobody can put this blind, retail'd ſecond-handed, dubious Account, in competition with the Silence of *Plato* and *Xenophon* his Contemporaries and Diſciples, who as they have delivered down to Poſterity the moſt minute Incidents of the Life of *Socrates*, would not, without doubt, have omitted ſo remarkable a thing as this, if there had been any ſuch a Fact, Therefore I think we may ſafely conclude *Xantippe* was his only Wife.

" are eſteem'd quite oppoſite, becauſe they
" never meet at the ſame Time in the ſame
" Perſon;) for whoever enjoys the one muſt
" unavoidably receive the other, as if they
" were naturally united. I believe if *Æſop*
" (added he) had thought on this Subject,
" he would have made this Fable, or ſuch
" a one, that God deſigning to reconcile
" theſe two Antagoniſts, and finding his
" Endeavor fruſtrated, he joined their two
" Heads together, ſo that to whomſoever
" the one becomes a Gueſt, the other im-
" mediately ſucceeds, as I have juſt now
" experienced; for the Pain which my Leg
" underwent from the Chain, is now ſuc-
" ceeded by Pleaſure [a]."

As ſoon as he had taken his Legs down from the Bed, *Cebes* aſk'd him, *how it was reconcileable that no one ought to kill himſelf, yet it was the Part of a Philoſopher to wiſh to die?* This Queſtion introduc'd that divine Diſcourſe on the Immortality of the Soul. *Socrates* reply'd, " O *Cebes*, God hath placed
" every Man in a Poſt upon Earth, which
" he ought not to deſert without his Leave.
" — Would you not be angry if one of
" your Slaves ſhould kill himſelf, and there-
" by deprive you of your Property, and
" would

[a] Plat. Phæd.

" would not you puniſh him for ſo doing if " it was in your Power? In like manner it " is not abſurd to think that a Man ought " not to make away with himſelf, but wait " till GOD has ſent him ſuch a particular " Permiſſion for his Departure, as he juſt " now has done to me [6].——For my part, " if I did not think I ſhould go to the *Gods*, " and to the Society of thoſe Men who are " infinitely better than theſe upon Earth, it " would be wrong in me not to be trou- " bled at Death. But know ye, that I *hope* " to arrive among the Good and Juſt who " have departed this Life. This, however, " I am not altogether [7] certain of; but that " I ſhall

[6] This confutes thoſe idle Notions, that the *Phædo* of *Plato* cauſed ſeveral great Men among the Ancients, ſuch as *Cleombrotus*, *Ariſtotle*, *Cato*, and others, to be guilty of Suicide. This Paſſage not only teſtifies the Philoſopher's great Diſapprobation of that horrid Sin, as the higheſt Mark of Diſobedience to our MAKER, but farther teaches us alſo, that the Light and Religion of Nature itſelf enjoins us an entire Reſignation in all Things to the Will of GOD, but more particularly ſo in the Preſervation of our own Lives, for the great and all-juſt Diſpoſal of Providence. How then could *Lactantius*, with his uſual invidious Gall againſt the Philoſophers, affirm that " *Ariſtoteles* præcipitem ſe dedit nul- " lam aliam ob cauſam, niſi quod *Platoni* credidit?

[7] I can't help reflecting on the Diſhoneſty of thoſe, who have detach'd this Part of the Sentence from what follows, as an Argument of *Socrates*'s Scepticiſm concerning the future Exiſtence of the Soul. His Doubt, we ſee by the reſt of the Paſſage, extended only to the Manner and Society it was to exiſt in hereafter, but that it was to return to the Habitation

" I ſhall return to the *Gods*, who are the " juſteſt Rulers, is a thing which I *fully* " *aſſure* you of.——For as the Soul exiſted " before it animated the Body [8], ſo ſhall it " return again to a ſeparate Exiſtence after " Solution, and this Change ſhall be better " for the Good, but worſe for the Wick- " ed [9].——If a Soul departs pure, and takes

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bitation of the *Gods*, and enjoy a State of Bliſs and Immortality, is a thing which, we find by what follows, he poſitively affirm'd.

[8] It was this Paſſage, I have often thought, which made ſeveral of the *Fathers* ſuch Enemies to *Platoniſm*.

[9] What can be a greater Proof than this is, that a future Retribution of Rewards and Puniſhments is Part of the Religion of Nature? And that *Socrates* and *Plato* taught it to their Diſciples, and believed it themſelves, this and ſeveral other Paſſages in the Writings of the latter ſufficiently demonſtrate, and *Tully*, ſo many Ages after, ſpeaks of this as a Thing which till his Time no body ever doubted of. " *Socrates* diſſeruit (ſays he) duas eſſe vias, dupliceſque curſus animorum e corpore excidentium. Nam qui ſe humanis vitiis contaminaſſent, et ſe totos libidinibus dediſſent, quibus cæcati velut domeſticis vitiis atque flagitiis ſe inquinaſſent, vel in republica violanda fraudes inexplicabiles concepiſſent, iis devium quoddam itur eſſe ſecluſum a concilio deorum. Qui autem ſe integros caſtoſque ſervaviſſent, quibuſque fuiſſet minima cum corporibus contagio, ſeſeque ab his ſemper ſevocaſſent, eſſentque in corporibus humanis vitam imitati deorum: his ad illos, a quibus eſſent profecti, reditum facilem patere." Tuſcul. Queſt. lib. 1. What then can induce ſome modern Writers at this time to deny ſo apparent a Truth, I am an intire a Stranger to. But there are indeed Men, who arm'd cap-a-pee with a Syſtem, and a little *hypothetically* mad, ruſh out like *La Mancha*'s Knight, and encounter all Objects as Giants and Monſters which unfortunately ſtand in the way of their Adventure-ſeeking

" no corporeal Pollution with it, having
" had no voluntary Communication with
" the Body during Life, but always collect-
" ed into itſelf, and employ'd on theſe Me-
" ditations; for true Philoſophy is nothing
" but to prepare ourſelves conſtantly for
" Death; a Soul thus affected, I ſay, re-
" turns to a Being like itſelf, a Being, di-
" vine, immortal, and full of Wiſdom;
" where being freed from Error, Ignorance,
" Fears, unruly Affections, and other hu-
" man Infirmities, it remains perfectly hap-
" py; and, as we ſay of thoſe who are
" initiated into the ſacred *Myſteries*, truly
" paſſes away the reſt of its Exiſtence with
" the *Gods*."

When he had finiſh'd his Diſcourſe on the Immortality of the Soul, to the Satisfaction of all preſent, *Crito*, his beloved Diſciple, aſk'd him how he would be buried? Upon which *Socrates* turning to *Phædo* and the reſt, " I can't perſuade *Crito* (ſaid he ſmiling) " that this is *Socrates* who

" is

ſeeking Career, ſtill raving on the Charms and doing all this for the ſake of an imaginary *Dulcinea*. One of theſe Knights Errant, who has lately amus'd the Vulgar among the *Literati* with his extraordinary Reveries, having choſe a *Sancho* worthy of ſuch a Maſter, and arm'd him with ſome of his old military Ornaments, has ſent him forth into the Liſts, and has promiſed to be reſponſible for all his proverbial Blunders and tritical Sayings.

" is disputing with you; for he thinks that " the Corps, which he will presently be- " hold, is *Socrates*, and for that Reason " asks me how I would be buried:" Then turning to him, " My dear *Crito*, (added he) " you ought to ask how I would have my " Body buried; as for that, you may inter " it as you please, or as is most conformable " to Custom." Having said this, he rose and went into the next Room to bathe [10].

When he had done bathing, they brought his Children to him, for he had three, two little ones, and one pretty big, attended by the Women of his Family. Here he continued some Time, and gave them his Orders in the Presence of *Crito*, and then having delivered his Children back again to his Domestics, he returned to the rest of the Philosophers, who were waiting for him in

[10] The Reason for his bathing immediately before Death, was that he should not give the Women the Trouble of washing his Corps afterwards, as we are inform'd from his own Mouth in the *Phædo* of *Plato*, μη πραγματα ταις γυναιξι παρεχειν νεκρον λουειν, otherwise he never bath'd thro' Luxury, as the Ancients were accustom'd to do, and very rarely thro' Necessity, for his Body was naturally so sweet that there was seldom any Occasion for washing it: *Arrian* says much more of the uncommon Sweetness of *Socrates*: Σωκρατης ολιγακις ελουετο. Αλλα εστιν αυτου μεν το σωμα, αλλ' ην ουτως επιχαρι ϗ ηδυ, ωστ' ηρων αυτου οι ωραιοτεροι ϗ ευγενεστατοι, ϗ επεθυμων εκεινω παρακατακλινεσθαι μαλλον η τοις ευμορφωτατοις. Arrian. Epict. de Mundit.

the other Apartment. Here he ſat down upon the Bed, and ſaid very little, till the Officer of the Eleven Magiſtrates came to tell him that it was time to drink the Poiſon. This Man, tho' he was habituated by his Office to ſee frequent Executions, was ſo affected by the mild Carriage, Innocence, and Reſolution of *Socrates*, that he had no ſooner delivered his Meſſage, than he turned aſide and burſt into Tears. When the Hemlock had been ſufficiently brew'd up, *Socrates* took the Cup which was preſented to him, not only without Confuſion or Change of Color, but with Chearfulneſs and Alacrity, and looking ſtedfaſtly upon the Executioner, "Is it lawful, ſaid he, to "make a Libation?" The Man replying he had only prepar'd enough for one Potion, "I underſtand you, anſwered he, but it is "lawful, and it is my Duty likewiſe, to "pray the Gods that my Paſſage from "hence may be fortunate and happy, which "I beſeech of them with all my Soul." Having made this ſhort Prayer, he drank the Hemlock with all the Tranquility imaginable [11]. His Friends, as ſoon as they ſaw

[11] How infinitely more beautiful and more becoming a dying Man, was this Behavior of *Socrates*, than that revengeful boiſterous Conduct of *Theramenes*? who, when he was in the ſame Circumſtances, inſtead of praying to Heaven for

ſaw he had finiſhed the fatal Draught, could no longer refrain from Tears, but gave a Looſe to their immoderate Grief [12]. *Socrates*, who was the only one in the Company that was unmov'd, perceiving their Affliction, aſk'd them how they could give way to ſuch Weakneſſes? "To prevent "this, ſaid he, I ſent away the Women, "and now you are falling into it yourſelves. "I have heard that a Man ought to die "with Chearfulneſs and Thankſgiving; "compoſe yourſelves therefore, and behave "as becomes you." Such Conſtancy of Reſolution pacify'd the Lamentations of his Friends, and made them bluſh at the Compariſon of their own Conduct with that of their dying Maſter.

for the future Happineſs of his Soul, burſt out into a Paſſion againſt the Author of his Death, and with a malignant Smile wiſhes him, by an indirect Figure of Speech, the ſame Fate as he himſelf was about to undergo. "Reliquum ſic e pocu-"lo ejecit, ut id reſonaret; quo ſonitu redito, arridens, propi-"no, inquit, hoc pulcro *Critiæ*, qui in eum fuit teterrimus." Cicer. Tuſc. Quæſt. lib. 1. On the contrary to this, *Socrates* was ſo calm, or rather chearful, upon his approaching End, that as *Tully* tells us, "Cum in manu jam mortiferum illud "teneret poculum ita locutus eſt, ut non ad mortem trudi, "verum in cœlum videretur aſcendere." Tuſc. Quæſt. lib. 1.

[12] A very great Man many Ages after, we are inform'd, always cry'd, when he read this Account of *Plato* in the Sufferings of *Socrates*: "Quid dicam de *Socrate?* cujus "morti illachrymans ſoleo *Platonem* legens." Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. 3.

Having walk'd about a little, according to the Direction of the Executioner, and perceiving his Legs grow ſtiff with the Effect of the Poiſon, he laid himſelf down upon the Bed, and covering his Head with his Gown, continued for ſome time ſilent in that Poſture. But when the Officer of the Eleven Magiſtrates came in (who during the Conferences had waited without) to bind up his Legs as they grew dead, *Socrates* knowing that this Man would report again what he heard him ſpeak at that *ſacred* Hour, (as it was eſteem'd among the Ancients) he, according to his accuſtomed Compliance with the eſtabliſh'd Rites of his Country, and with no other Deſign than not to diſturb the weak Minds of the People, lifted up his Robe, and looking upon *Crito*, " I owe a Cock, ſaid he, to " *Æſculapius*, I deſire you would not forget " to perform this Offering for me [13]." Theſe were the laſt Words he ſaid, and in a few Minutes after expired.

Thus

[13] The Reaſon why *Socrates* deſired *Crito* to offer for him this Cock to *Æſculapius*, has been hitherto either not underſtood, or diſingenuouſly miſrepreſented by the Adverſaries of ancient Wiſdom. It has often griev'd me to ſee thoſe who pretend to be the Defenders of our holy Religion, endeavor to overthrow the Sanctity, Knowledge, and Stability, of the greateſt Man which human Nature, unaſſiſted by the *immediate* Hand of GOD, ever produced. Several have cited this Paſſage,

Thus liv'd and dy'd this great and godlike Man, whoſe Life and Death was in every Reſpect conformable to that Idea he himſelf

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Paſſage, as an Inſtance of the Uncertainty of this Philoſopher with regard to the *Unity* of the DEITY. "This, ſay they, "ſufficiently indicates, that the utmoſt Extent of human "Reaſon, unenlighten'd by Revelation, avails nothing." That I grant in Matters of Revelation; but the Certainty of the Exiſtence of ONE, *Uncreated*, *All-powerful*, and *All-perfect* Being from Eternity, Nature itſelf in every Object of his glorious Creation univerſally demonſtrates. I'm afraid a contrary Opinion, *viz.* that Natural Religion is Matter of Faith, and not Matter of Reaſon, will promote *Atheiſm*, or *Superſtition*, and their accurſed Conſequences, more than the pure Worſhip of the DEITY, in the unſpotted Manner and Practice preſcrib'd us by our bleſſed Guide in Religion *Jeſus Chriſt*.——If theſe Authors had not laid too great a Byaſs on their Underſtandings, and had faithfully and impartially examin'd the Cauſe why the *Athenian* Sage deſired his Friend to obſerve this Piece of *Grecian* Superſtition, which was ſo contrary to his real Sentiments, they would have found that this Requeſt did not proceed from any Opinion he had of *Polytheiſm*, but from a Principle of ſocial Love and Humanity. For whoever accurately reads over this excellent Dialogue of *Plato*, (i. e. the *Phædo*) will obſerve, that theſe laſt remarkable Words of *Socrates* were ſpoken after the Officer of the Eleven Magiſtrates came to bind up his Limbs, according to the Cuſtom practiſed in ſuch Executions. Therefore when this Man came within Hearing, as he was conſcious, as I have obſerv'd above, that whatever he then ſaid would be repeated to the Populace, he choſe rather to comply externally with the religious Ceremonies of his Country, which he was always wont to do, [ſee above Book I. Note 31. ibid.] than by any particular Diſſention to be the Cauſe of civil Contentions, and perhaps the total Subverſion of the eſtabliſhed Laws, which were ſo ſtrongly united with the Religion. For as he found it was impoſſible to eradicate all at once theſe vulgar Prejudices, he very well knew that a Compliance of this ſort with their Superſtitions, was

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entertained of the Dignity of human Nature, our Duty to Society, and religious Service to the CREATOR of all Things. All

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the most likely Method to obviate all that Persecution which might have follow'd his Disciples and Friends after his Death. For this Reason he left that glorious Work, which he had begun, to be finish'd by them as expeditiously as the Mind of Man could be become wean'd, as it were, from those foolish Notions, and susceptible of receiving the Truth. Monf. *Le Mothe le Vayer* ingeniously, but not justly, regards these Words of *Socrates* in the following Light: " Je croy " pas, says he, qu'on les doive rapporter a autre chose qu'a " cette figure qui etoir l'ornament continuel de tous ses pro- " pos. C'est Ironie ou l'innocente raillerie qui lui plasoit " si fort comme tous ses entretiens en sont foy, qu'il s'en " voulut servir mesme en mourant. Il dit donc en ce der- " nier accessoire, qu'il devoit un coq a *Esculape* de Dieu des " remedes, pour signifier qu'il se voyoit aux termes d'estre " bien tost guery de tous ses maux." At any other Time indeed such a Piece of Raillery, as he calls it, might have been us'd by *Socrates*, because, as the sceptical *Frenchman* observes, Irony was a Figure he delighted in and us'd often; but I can by no means allow, that he would use it at this Time, when his whole Deportment was suitable to his Circumstances, and quite contrary to what he would hereby represent it. However, this Explication was well meant, and the Author has some Merit in not running into the Cry with *Lactantius*, and a Crowd of Bigots, who ignorantly or maliciously accuse him of being a *Polytheist* on account of this Request to *Crito*; nay *Lactantius* carries it so far as to charge him with Vanity and superstitious Cowardice. Vide Lactant. de fals. Sap. I was sorry, I must confess, to find so great and well-designing a Man as *Cudworth* was so System-blinded, as to cite with Approbation this invidious Perstrinction of *Origen*: Και τελικαυτα φιλοσοφαντες περι της ψυχης ϗ την διαγωγην της καλως βεβιωκυιας διεξελθοντες καταλιποντες το μεγεθος ων αυτοις ο Θεος εφανερωσεν ευτελυ φρονουσι ϗ σμικρα Αλεκτρυονα τω Ασκληπιω αποδιδοντες. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. 6.

All his Actions, as well as divine Diſcourſes, were living Precepts of Prudence, Juſtice, Modeſty and Fortitude. In Youth he was the Son of Temperance, in Manhood the Brother of ſocial Love, and in Age the Father of Wiſdom. His Politics conſiſted in the moſt uninfluenced Patriotiſm, his Philoſophy in the moſt refin'd Humanity, and his Religion in the moſt exalted Notions and pure Adoration of the only true God. By the firſt, he fir'd Mankind with the moſt undaunted Zeal for the Welfare of their Country; by the ſecond, he ſoften'd their Hearts to the tender Feelings of Benevolence and univerſal Charity; and by the laſt, he familiariz'd their Minds to the Idea of an all-perfect DEITY, and taught them almoſt to anticipate on Earth the Joys of a glorious Hereafter. In each of theſe he was himſelf a great Example. As a Citizen, he was valiant in War, conſtant and uncorrupted in Council, and ever ready and deſirous to aſſiſt the Commonweal, tho' ever ſo incompatible with his own private Intereſt. As a Man, he conſider'd the whole Species as his Brothers, and their Concerns had always free Acceſs to his Heart; he had Sighs for their Affliction, and Joy for their Proſperity; he was as delighted to praiſe the Good, as reſolute to rebuke the Wicked, but rather choſe to lead Mankind into moral Comelineſs by Perſuaſion, than

than compel them by Punishments; and tho' he was himself a faultless Pattern of all the Goodness which human Nature alone is capable of, he never despis'd the deficient Endeavors of an honest Heart, but was continually ready to assist the Wants of all with his infallible Admonitions. As a Religionist, he constantly wore the moral Image of GOD in his Heart, in the Spirit of Mercy and Peace. The Worship he paid to his MAKER was Obedience to his Will, the Knowledge of his Will was acquired by Reason from the Nature of Things, and the Offering he made was an undefiled Heart, the most acceptable to the ALMIGHTY BEING.[14]. He made it evident that the End of Wisdom was Virtue, and that Virtue was the only Guide to temporal as well as eternal Happiness. He believ'd and taught that this Life was a probationary State, where we were sent for a Time as to a Tryal, and that there would be a Retribution hereafter of Rewards and Punishments, proportion'd to

[14] Thus *Socrates* altogether liv'd up to that beautiful Precept which *Isocrates* the Orator gives to *Nicocles*. Perhaps *Isocrates* might have the Character of *Socrates* in his Mind, when he wrote this Sentence: Ηγȣ δε τȣτο ειναι θυμα καλλιστον, ϗ θεραπειαν μεγιστην, εαν ως βελτιστον ϗ δικαιοτατον σεαυτον παρεχης.——Μαλλον γὰρ ελπις τȣς τοιȣτȣς, η τȣς ΙΕΡΕΙΑ πολλα καταβαλλοντας, πραξειν τι παρα των Θεων αγαθον. Isocr. Orat. ad Nicocl.

to our different Virtues and Vices; that the Good would enjoy eternal and inexpreſſible Pleaſure among celeſtial Beings in the beatific Viſion of God; and that the Wicked ſhould be tormented by the moſt ſevere Conſciouſneſs of their Guilt, and by other Afflictions, in a Place of Miſery. He always declar'd, that a right Knowledge of the Deity was the only Method to attain to Perfection in Virtue and Wiſdom, for our Endeavors would naturally be, to be as like him as we are able.

It was the laſt of theſe Tenets [15] that rouz'd the diſturb'd Swarm of Pagan Prieſthood; for that credulous Herd, the People, had hitherto implicitly believ'd whatever the Prieſts delivered down to them from their Forefathers, and either thro' Indolence or Fear lulling their Reaſon into a holy Lethargy, had tacitly acquieſced in the eſtabliſhed Superſtition of their Country. The Hierarchy

[15] This naturally inclin'd his Diſciples to enquire freely into the divine Nature, which the Prieſts being conſcious would diſcover their Impoſtures, who had repreſented God (i. e. *their Gods*) in ſuch a falſe and horrid manner, they, together with their Aſſociates the *Sophiſts* and *Politicians*, were never eaſy till they had accompliſhed their Deſign of bringing him to this cruel Death. For the ſame Reaſon, the holy Cheats of the Church of *Rome* deny the Uſe of the ſacred Writings to the Laity, the reading of which muſt neceſſarily detect their numerous Frauds and daily Forgeries.

Hierarchy was at this Time enthron'd on the higheſt Pinnacle of ſacerdotal Grandeur, and the ſanctimonious Obedience of the People had ſo thoroughly transferred the Sight of the human Underſtanding into the Eyes of Faith, that whilſt the one was totally darken'd, and the other ſupernaturally illuminated, no Abſurdity whatever in the Form of Worſhip, in the Multiplicity of their *Deities*, or in the wild and blaſphemous Opinions of the DIVINE NATURE, was too groſs to be reconcil'd to the Mind by the friendly Interpoſition of Faith, when uſher'd in under the venerable Name of a religious Myſtery. The Ignorant are always fond of incomprehenſible Words and unintelligible Grimace, having in Religion, as in common Life, a higher Veneration for thoſe Things which they do not know, than for thoſe they are acquainted with; fooliſhly imagining, that the greater the Contradiction is in religious Affairs to common Senſe, ſo much more it ought to be regarded as an awful myſtical Concealment of the Will of Heaven; a Doctrine therefore which inſtigated Mankind to uſe their Reaſon freely in their Enquiry concerning the DEITY, (which was the greateſt Gift he himſelf endow'd them with, and chiefly for that very Purpoſe) muſt ſurely be deſtructive of that ſacerdotal Pageantry, and all its Train of mercenary

nary Impoſtors and Dependents [16]. For this Reaſon they never ceas'd to perſecute the Author, with all the wonted Malignity of falſe-plac'd Zeal, till he fell a Martyr [17] for Truth, Religion, and Virtue, by the Hands of an idolatrous People.

No

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[16] In like manner it was for fear of the Deſtruction of the Craft, which was dependent upon the Idol at *Epheſus*, that the Tumult was rais'd againſt the holy and eloquent Apoſtle St. *Paul*, when he preach'd in that Place the true God. See the 19th Chapter of the *Acts*.

[17] How much more does he deſerve that Appellation, than the Mob of ignorant Enthuſiaſts in the *Roman* Martyrologies; many of whom, according to their own Accounts, (if they ever had any other Exiſtence than in theſe idle Legends) liv'd uſeleſs Fools, and dy'd incendiary Madmen? How much more conformable did this great Philoſopher live and die to the ſince-revealed Will of God, than thouſands of theſe Popiſh Saints, who never had any other Merit than an enthuſiaſtical Perſeverance under Perſecution? Sure *Chriſtian* Charity teaches us to believe, that ſuch as *Socrates* are Partakers of eternal Happineſs! What rational Creature can refrain from laughing at reading the following Sentence in a celebrated *French* Author, who diffidently ſays, ſpeaking of *Plato*, "St. *Auguſtin* s'eſt declare en une infinité d'endroits ſi "paſſionné pour lui, que *Toſtat*, qui n'a cedé a pas un ſcho- "laſtique du dernier ſiecle en la connoiſance de Peres, croit "que ce grand Prelat d' *Afrique* n'a point doute du ſalut de "*Platon*." Indeed! and a little after ſubjoins from himſelf, "Nous devons ſouhaiter que Dieu luy ait fait miſeri- "corde." The ſame Author as ridiculouſly obſerves in another Place, "Tous ſes ſcholaſtiques modernes, qui n'ont "deſeſperé du ſalut de Payens vertueux ont eſté perſuadez "de celuy de *Socrate*." 'Tis very condeſcending in him truly! However, leſt he himſelf ſhould be thought to have too much Preſumption in favoring theſe bold Opinions, he ſeems to recant Part of his Opinion in another Place, and moſt orthodoxly cautious adds, "Je ſerois bien faſché pour-

"taut

No ſooner were Malice and Envy buried in the Urn with *Socrates*, than the *Athenians* began to reflect upon his eminent Virtue and Wiſdom, and to adore the Memory of that Man now he was dead, whom they had ſo cruelly treated when he was living.

Quatenus heu nefas
Virtutem incolumem odimus,
Sublatam ex oculis quærimus invidi [18] !

A general Mourning was decreed by the Magiſtrates, the Shops and Places of public Reſort were ſhut up, and a Statue of him of incomparable Workmanſhip, carv'd by *Lyſippus*, was erected at the public Expence in the moſt eminent Part of the City [19]. Nor did their Reſpect to the Memory of this Ornament of Mankind end here, for they condemn'd the infamous *Melitus* to Death, and baniſh'd the reſt of his Accuſers for ever from the State.

The three principal [20] Diſciples of *Socrates* whoſe Works remain (for that Mob that pretended

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" taut d'avoir prononcer affirmativement pour ſon ſalut, ny " de l'avoir mis avec certitude au rang des bien heureux, " comme il ſembles que quelques uns ayent voulu faire." La Mothe le Vayer de Socr.

[18] Hor. lib. 3. od. 24.

[19] Diog. Laert. in vit. Socr.

[20] Every Sect of Moral Philoſophers from this Time claim'd *Socrates* as their Maſter, and regarded their Founder as

pretended to be ſo, never deſerv'd the Appellation) were *Pluto* and *Xenophon*, [21] *Athenians*,

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as his Diſciple. But all the other Diſciples except theſe three (as *Boëthius* elegantly and figuratively deſcribes them, ſee Note 26) having borrowed a few Notions from *Socrates* to give a Sanction to the reſt of their ſpurious Doctrines, and being led away by the Vanity of being reputed the Authors of a Sect, deſerted his unblemiſh'd Example, and ſubſtituted aerial Conceits of their own. Thus *Antiſthenes* the firſt of the *Cynics*, and *Ariſtippus* the Founder of the *Cyrenaic* Sect, and all the reſt. Let us hear what *Tully*, that great and impartial Judge of their different Pretenſions, ſays of them: "Nam cum eſſent plures orti fere a *Socrate* quod ex illius "variis, et diverſis, et in omnem partem diffuſis diſputationi- "bus alius aliud apprehenderat, proſeminatæ ſunt quaſi fa- "miliæ diſſentientes inter ſe et multum disjunctæ, et diſ- "pares, cum tamen omnes ſe philoſophi *Socraticos*, et dici "vellent, et eſſe arbitrarentur. Ac primo ab ipſo *Platone* "*Ariſtoteles* et *Xenocrates*; quorum alter *Peripateticorum*, "alter *Academiæ* nomen obtinuit: deinde ab *Antiſthene*, qui "patientiam et duritiam in *Socratico* ſermone maxime ad- "amarat *Cynici* primum deinde *Stoici:* tum ab *Ariſtippo*, "quem illæ magis voluptariæ diſputationes delectarent, *Cy*- "*renaica* philoſophia manavit, quam ille et ejus poſteri ſim- "pliciter defenderunt: ii, qui nunc voluptate omnia metiun- "tur, dum verecundius id agunt, nec dignitati ſatisfaciunt, "quam non aſpernantur, nec voluptatem tuentur, quam am- "plexari volunt. Fuerunt etiam illa genera philoſophorum, "fere qui ſe omnes *Socraticos* eſſe dicebant; *Eretriacorum*, "*Herilliorum*, *Megaricorum*, *Pyrrhoneorum:* Sed ea horum "vi, et diſputationibus ſunt jamdiu fracta, et extincta." Tull. de Orat. lib. 3.

[21] As *Xenophon* and *Plato* avoid mentioning one another in their numerous Compoſitions, it has been abſurdly ſuppoſed that there was a Quarrel betwixt them on account of Rivalſhip: but ſuch mean Sentiments are foreign to the Breaſts of true Philoſophers. 'Tis true, their reſpective Followers or Admirers did afterwards contend, which of their Maſters had delivered the Doctrines of *Socrates* with the greateſt Purity

nians, and *Cebes* the *Theban*. The firſt and laſt of theſe three were at *Athens* when their great Maſter was put to Death; the ſecond was at that very time General in that glorious Expedition and memorable Retreat of the Ten Thouſand *Greeks* out of *Aſia*, which he only was able [22] to deſcribe, as well as to conduct.

As I have already ſo often referr'd to their Writings in the Courſe of this Work, it would be ſuperfluous to add more upon that Subject.

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rity and Simplicity. But as there is nothing in the Writings of either eſſentially repugnant to the other, which may not eaſily be reconciled upon a critical Review, I am of the ſame Opinion with *Aulus Gellius*, who gives the following beautiful Account how this Report came to be rais'd: "Quæ igitur eſt (ſays he) opinionis iſtius ratio? Hæc profecto eſt, "æquiparatio ipſa plerumque et parilitas virtutum inter ſeſe "conſimilium, etiam ſi contentionis ſtudium et voluntas abeſt, "ſpeciem tamen æmulationis creat, nam quum ingenia quædam magna duorum pluriumve in ejuſdem rei ſtudio illuſtrium, aut pari ſunt fama aut proxima: oritur apud diverſos fautores eorum induſtriæ laudique æſtimandæ contentio. Tum poſtea ex alieno certamine ad eos quoque "ipſos contagium certationis adſpirat. Curſuſque eorum ad "laudem virtutis calcem pergentium, quando compar vel "ambiguus in æmulandi ſuſpiciones non ſuo ſed faventium "ſtudio delabitur. Proinde igitur et *Xenophon* et *Plato Socraticæ* æmœnitatis duo lumina certare æmularique inter "ſeſe exiſtimati ſunt: qui de iis apud alios, uter eſſet exſuperantior certabatur; et quia duæ eminentiæ, quum ſimul "junctæ in arduum nituntur. Simulacrum quoddam contentiones æmulæ pariunt." Aul. Gell. Noct. Att. lib. 14. cap. 7.

[22] Xenoph. exped. Cyr.

Subject. [23] *Plato* founded the School in thoſe Gardens which formerly belong'd to *Ecademus*, which from his Name was afterwards call'd the *Academy*, and was adorn'd at the public Expence with Porticos, Arches, Walks and Groves, for the Uſe and Pleaſure of the Students. *Xenophon*, tho' he was long employed in public Affairs, and at laſt baniſh'd from his Country, yet he ſo thoroughly imbib'd the Principles of *Socrates*, that he became one of the greateſt Lights of the Heathen World, and compos'd thoſe inimitable Writings now deliver'd down to us, the moſt admir'd of which are, the Memoirs of his godlike Maſter, his own Expedition, his *Grecian* Hiſtory, and that beautiful Leſſon which he gives to all Chiefs under the pleaſing Form of a probable Romance, adorn'd with all the Sweets of Language, which this *Attic* Bee, as he was call'd, had cull'd from every Flower of

[23] To *Plato*, his Nephew *Speuſippus* ſucceeded to govern the Academy; to *Speuſippus*, *Xenocrates*; to *Xenocrates*, *Polemo*; to *Polemo*, *Crates*; to *Crates*, *Crantor*; to *Crantor*, *Arceſilas*, who was the firſt of the *New Academy* ſo call'd in Diſtinction to the *Platonic*. *Ariſtotle* was the moſt famous Diſciple of *Plato*, tho' he deviated from his manner of teaching. He was the Founder of the *Peripatetic* Sect, and after his Diſgrace at the Court of *Macedon*, open'd a public School at *Athens* call'd the *Lyceum*.

poetical Invention [24]. *Cebes* return'd to *Thebes* to inſtruct his own Country, where he wrote the *Mythological* Table now extant, and ſeveral other Pieces which are loſt [25].

The Writings of theſe three Philoſophers ought only to be called *Chartæ Socraticæ* [26], which contain the true Doctrines of *Socrates*, and no others can be rely'd upon for an Account of the Life and Tenets of

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[24] His Stile was ſo ſweet and elegant, that *Tully* ſays, "*Xenophontis* voce *Muſas* quaſi locutas ferunt." Orat. *Xenophon* died at *Corinth* very old. See his Life in Diog. Laert. *Lucian* ſays he liv'd upwards of ninety Years.

[25] Diog. Laert.

[26] The true *Grecian Academics* kept invariably cloſe to the Writings of *Xenophon* and *Plato*. *Boethius* repreſents Philoſophy diſclaiming the Familiarity of all other Sects but the *Platoniſts*. "Nonne apud veteres (ſays *Philoſophy* perſonaliz'd) "quoque ante noſtri *Platonis* ætatem, magnum "ſæpe certamen cum ſtultitiæ temeritate certavimus? eodem "ſuperſtite, præceptor ejus *Socrates* injuſtæ victoriam mortis "me adſtante promeruit? cujus hæreditatem cum deinceps "*Epicureum* vulgus, ac *Stoicum*, cæterique pro ſua quiſque "parte raptum molirentur, meque reclamantem, reniten-"temque, velut in partem prædæ, traherent, veſtem quam "meis manibus texueram, diſciderunt, abreptiſque ab ea "panniculis, totam me ſibi ceſſiſſe credentes abiere. In "quibus, quoniam quædam noſtri habitus veſtigia videban-"tur meos eſſe familiares imprudentia rata, non nullos "eorum profanæ multitudinis errore pervertit."

An. Manl. T. S. Boeth. de conſ. Ph. lib. 1.

Theſe are the Compoſitions of which *Horace* ſays,

Scribendi recte ſapere eſt principium et fons:
Rem tibi *Socraticæ* poterunt oſtendere *chartæ*.

of this incomparable Man; the Compositions of that Crowd who have incidentally treated of either in After-ages, being either made up of dull oral Traditions, or the improbable and inconsistent *Chimeras* of their own Imaginations.

FINIS.

The Reader is desired to correct the following most material Typographical ERRATA.

TITLE Page, for *Doctrine* of the Academic Sect, read *Doctrines*.

Page 82. note 3. line 6. for *confidedera* read *confidera*.